

An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys

by
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The social construction of masculinity is a complex process, one which cannot be divorced from the immediate environment and culture of boys. The aim of this study was to understand the construction of male identity in young primary school boys, who grew up in a context where few positive male role models might be, and where society might play a bigger role in shaping their identities. I focused on boys between the ages of ten and thirteen. The participants were from a poor socio-economic coloured community in the Western Cape and were purposively selected. A qualitative research methodology was used and data was selected by means of semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews, collages and photographs.

The findings showed that the type of masculinity these boys aspire to is admirable. However, they are caught within a context where there is a lack of physical space, an absence of facilities, a high unemployment rate and are surrounded by community disorganisation. The boys are confronted with many male examples in their community who are not providing for their families, and they see substances such as alcohol and drugs being abused daily by adult members of their community. Despite a constant presence of a mother, there is a lack of meaningful relationships with their fathers. They cannot easily identify positive role models within their community and do not have the ability to search for such traits in others.

The themes arising from the data presented a contrast between the experiences of the participants and the kind of men they seek to be. There are very few men in their community who could help them to achieve their ideals and who could provide them with guidance or support. In the absence of suitable male role models to emulate, these boys are likely to comply with a model of masculinity that demonstrates dominance and power through violence and abuse.

OPSOMMING

Die sosiale konstruksie van manlikheid is 'n komplekse proses, een wat nie van die onmiddellike omgewing en kultuur van die seuns geskei kan word nie. Die doel van hierdie studie was om die konstruksie van manlike identiteit in jong laerskoolseuns, wat grootgeword het in 'n konteks waar min positiewe manlike rolmodelle kan wees, en waar die gemeenskap 'n groter rol kan speel in die vorming van hul identiteit, te verstaan. Ek fokus op seuns tussen die ouderdomme van tien en dertien jaar oud. Die deelnemers was van 'n lae - sosio-ekonomiese bruin gemeenskap in die Wes-Kaap en is doelbewus gekies. 'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodologie is gebruik en data is deur middel van semi- gestruktureerde onderhoude, fokusgroep-onderhoude, collages en fotos ingesamel.

Die bevindinge het getoon dat die tipe manlikheid wat hierdie seuns nastreef, prysenswaardig is. Hulle is egter vasgevang in 'n konteks gekenmerk deur 'n gebrek aan fisiese ruimte, 'n afwesigheid van fasiliteite, 'n hoë werkloosheidsyfer en gemeenskaplike wanorde. Die seuns word gekonfronteer met baie voorbeelde van mans in hul gemeenskap wat nie voorsiening maak vir hul families nie, en hulle word op 'n daaglikse basis blootgestel aan volwassenes wat alkohol en dwelms misbruik. Hoewel daar 'n konstante teenwoordigheid van 'n ma is, is daar 'n gebrek aan 'n sinvolle verhouding met hul vaders. Hulle kan nie maklik positiewe rolmodelle identifiseer binne hul gemeenskap nie, en het nie die vermoë om te soek vir soortgelyke eienskappe in ander nie.

Die temas wat voortgespruit het uit die data was in kontras met die ervarings van die deelnemers en die tipe man waarna hulle streef om te wees. Daar is geen mans in hul gemeenskap wat hulle kan help om hul ideale te bereik en wat hulle kan voorsien met leiding of ondersteuning nie. In die afwesigheid van geskikte manlike rolmodelle om na te boots, kan hierdie seuns geneig wees om 'n model van manlikheid wat oorheersing en mag deur geweld en mishandeling na te streef.

An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introducing the Study

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Motivation for the study	2
1.3 Description of the problem.....	3
1.4 Research design and methodology.....	4
1.5 Ethical considerations.....	7
1.6 Organisation of the thesis.....	7

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Theorising masculinities	10
2.3 Adolescence and the search for a suitable masculinity.....	12
2.4 Masculinities in context	14
2.5 The influence of relationships on masculinities.....	16
2.6 The enactment and embodiment of masculinities	18
2.7 Summary.....	19

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction.....	20
3.2 Qualitative Research as Methodology	20
3.3 Research Paradigm.....	21

3.4 Research Design.....	22
3.5 Context for the study	22
3.6 Methods of Data Collection.....	23
3.6.1 Interviews.....	23
3.6.2 Collages and Photographs.....	24
3.7 Data Analysis.....	25
3.8 Validity and Reliability of Data.....	26
3.9 Ethical Considerations.....	27
3.10 Summary.....	28

Chapter 4

Presenting the data

4.1 Introduction.....	29
4.2 Acquainting myself to Paradise Park and its inhabitants.....	29
4.3 Introducing the participants.....	31
4.4 Understand my world and where I grow up.....	34
4.5 The people I stand in relation to.....	39
4.5.1 Parents.....	39
4.5.2 Friends.....	40
4.5.3 Teachers.....	41
4.6 Who do I look up to?	41
4.7 My ideas of being a man.....	43
4.7.1 The man as lover, caretaker and provider.....	43
4.7.2 Men do not cry	46
4.7.3 Values.....	47

4.7.4 Images of fit, fast, strong and agile.....	47
4.7.5 Markings of manhood: tattoos, signals and signs.....	48
4.7.6 Witnessing and living abuse and violence.....	50
4.7.7 My perceptions of justice and illegal activities.....	51
4.8 Summary.....	52

Chapter 5

Findings and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction.....	53
5.2 The Research Findings.....	54
5.2.1 Context and space as an actor of this research.....	54
5.2.2 The influence of the insignificant others that cross their paths.....	55
5.2.3 Shaping the male identity: The ideal versus their reality.....	57
5.2.4 Searching for a suitable male identity.....	59
5.3 Summary.....	59
5.4 Recommendations for further research.....	60
5.5 Personal Reflection.....	61
REFERENCES.....	63
APPENDIX A: Interview guide.....	71
APPENDIX B: Permission from Western Cape Education Department.....	75
APPENDIX C: Permission from the University of Stellenbosch.....	77
APPENDIX D: Consent to participate in research.....	79
APPENDIX E: Assent to participate in research.....	82
APPENDIX F: Examples of open-ended coding: Semi-structured interviews.....	85
APPENDIX G: Examples of open-ended coding: Collages.....	95

APPENDIX H: Examples of open-ended coding: Photographs.....	104
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LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

Figure 1: Illustration of Adam and Grant's home.....	32
Figure 2: Illustration of Mike's home.....	32
Figure 3: Illustration of Jack's home.....	33
Figure 4: Illustration of Edward's home.....	33
Figure 5: Illustration of Jerry's home.....	34
Tabel 1: Rolemodels in the participants' lives.....	41
Diagram 1: Categories of the study.....	53

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND COLLAGES

Photo 1: View of golfcourse through the barbed wired fence.....	35
Photo 2: View of the graveyard.....	35
Photo 3: View of the national road.....	36
Photo 4: The community play area.....	36
Photo 5: Children playing in the street	37
Photo 6: Children playing in the street.....	37
Photo 7: Adult activities in the community.....	38
Collage 1.....	44
Collage 2.....	44
Collage 3.....	46
Collage 4.....	48
Collage 5.....	49
Photo 8: The barbed wired fence.....	59

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND COMMON TERMS USED BY THE BOYS

Word or abbreviation	Meaning assigned by the boys
lekker	Something that they like and find acceptable
plekkie	A small place
moffie	A homosexual male. The label is meant to shame
YMCMB	Young Money Cash Money Billionaires: a label used in music videos and on clothing.
Gaza	Used in reference to a fellow gang member
Playboy	A man who is popular amongst the women
Illuminati	Someone who sells his soul to the devil
Tik	The drug methamphetamine
Pizza boys	The metro police officers

Chapter 1

Introducing the study

1.1 Introduction

‘We have taught them (our children) that success is everything, no matter how ruthless you might be in achieving your results. We have based our whole society on power, portraying compassion, gentleness, and caring as “sissy” qualities. Tough, macho – this is how you should operate. Children adopt these values because they are so prevalent.’

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, 2002

According to Seidler (1989, p. 14), to state that we are living in a man’s world does not mean that we live in a world that has been built upon the needs and nourishment of men. He describes it as a social world of power and subordination in which competition is forced upon men, if they are to benefit from their inherited masculinity. Young boys are faced with many challenges within this social world and sometimes struggle to meet its demands. They sometimes find themselves in leadership- and breadwinner roles that many might not be able to live up to. It should thus not come as a surprise when the pressure to engage in activities that are seen as ones men engage in, in some cases lead boys into high-risk activities such as joining gangs and using drugs (Shefer & Ratele, 2007).

Kahn (2009, p. 2) defines masculinity as the “complex cognitive, behavioural, emotional, expressive, psychosocial, and sociocultural experience” of identifying with being male. I argue that boys can only create a frame of reference of masculinity from what is available to them in their immediate environment and culture. Seidler (1998, p. 8) states that when we think about young men in specific histories, cultures and traditions, we are thinking about the particular conditions through which they engage with their social world and affirm their male identities. Some boys are exposed to only negative conditions within their immediate environment, as experienced through negative role modeling, violence and inappropriate media exposure. For many boys from disorganized communities, the messages they receive from the environment are overwhelmingly negative. My assumptions are that those who do have access to mentors to help them sift through the different messages and focus on the positive, are fortunate, yet in the minority. In this study I will argue that in many of South Africa’s townships, there are many boys who are left to their own devices and who have to make sense of the world on their own. I set out to study boys who grow up in a community

context where few positive male role models are present, and where society might be an important influence in shaping their identities. Paradise Park is not the only place of socialization. These boys function in a broader community that includes school and areas outside the community they live in. By society I'm not limiting their experiences only to Paradise Park.

The aim of this study was to understand what it is that influences the construction of male identity in young primary school boys, between the ages of ten and thirteen years. This population was chosen because it is at this stage where boys enter adolescence and physiological as well as mental changes start to occur. Adolescence can be seen as a transitional period in which the maturing starts experiencing physical, cognitive, social and emotional change. Put differently it is a phase associated with physical and sexual maturation. (Gouws, Kruger and Burger, 2008; Carpetier, Fortenberry, Ott, Brams, and Einhor, 2010). It is also a phase where they start to compare themselves to others, and want to be associated with the values and beliefs of prominent adults, such as teachers and media figures. Six boys enrolled in a government primary school, participated in the study.

1.2 Motivation for the study

The question of who we are, and how we conceptualize and evaluate ourselves, is part of the shaping of our social identity. Baron and Byrne (1997) discuss various aspects which contribute to the construction of this social identity, and identify gender as a central category. Accordingly, one's gender identity is "the sex that a person identifies as his or her own; usually, though not always, corresponds to the person's biological sex" (Baron & Byrne, 1997). Gender identity occurs when gender becomes part of the person's self-concept, and when the individual develops a sense of self that includes maleness or femaleness. Grieve (1980, in Baron & Byrne, 1997) as well as Baron and Byrne (1997), have argued that the gender role we adopt affects our actions and the way that other people respond to us. However, Pleasant (2007) has pointed out that children tend to be very rigid in the gender norms that they adopt. I would thus assume that in a patriarchal society boys would be pressurised to conform to traditional masculinity-norms.

Traditional masculinity is defined by values of boys being strong, authoritative, stoic and competitive (Pleasant, 2007). Consequently, in communities that ascribe to traditional masculinity, there would be many examples for boys on how "to act like a man". According

to Watson (2007, p. 731), in such societies the message that boys receive is that to be aggressive, competitive and unemotional, are natural male traits. So too, boys are envisioned as being mischievous, rowdy and rough. This kind of behavior is likely to be condoned under a perception of “boys being boys”, justified and accepted. In societies where boys are often rewarded for acting in traditionally masculine ways, they will feel compelled to do so. However, Pleasant (2007) as well as Watson (2007) caution that these expressions of masculinity are not always healthy, and may increase the probability of involvement with high-risk behaviours such as substance abuse, violence or sexual activities.

Some researchers have found that some males engage in unhealthy expressions of masculinity as ways to distinguish themselves from females. O’Neil, (1982 in Smith, 1994), describes one of the main consequences of traditional male socialization as the fear of femininity. To appear feminine is conceived as a weakness. This research found that boys who buy into this understanding of masculinity are more likely to act violently and roughly, because of their inherent fears that they will come across as weak in front of others. They could have been taught that in a macho world femininity in men is not valued by other men, and thus want to rid themselves from any attributes that could be seen as feminine.

According to Connell (2005), there are definite relationships of hierarchy and exclusion in the various forms of masculinities. The hegemonic pattern of masculinity as characterized by aggressive and authoritarian behaviour is most of the time more respected than other patterns. Although not all boys adopt this model of behaviour, the hierarchy around it is a source of conflict and violence in South African society. As an example, it shows how a restrictive masculinity could be harmful to boys understandings of what it means to be a South African male.

1.3 Description of the problem

According to the Gender schema theory, formulated by Sandra Bem (Baron & Byrne, 1997), children organize information about the self in a way that is based on cultural definitions. This theory suggests that children observe their parents or other adults in their lives and try to be like those they observe (Baron & Byrne, 1997).

The father's role in the development of the identity and role of a boy has been researched extensively (Richter and Morrell, 2006; Ratele, Shefer and Clowes, 2012). According to Langa (2010), many people play an important role in the socialization of young boys. Thus, for this study the father was identified as one of many actors, including other males, who could influence boys' gendered identity.

The problem investigated was how the male identity in primary school boys between the ages of ten and thirteen years is shaped. By understanding what the influences on such constructions are, significant adults such as educators could provide the necessary stimuli to advance positive constructions of identity. The research questions that guided the study were

1. What are primary school boys' understandings of male identity?
2. What are the influences on the construction of male identity in primary school boys?
3. What kind of men do these boys aspire to be?

1.4 Research design and methodology

The approach to the research was qualitative. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3) qualitative researchers study phenomenon in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. They seek to gain knowledge on how social experiences are created and given meaning to.

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge and justification. According to Audi (2011, p. 4), knowledge would not be possible without belief justification. He describes the basic sources of belief, knowledge and justification to be perceptual, memorial, introspective and a priori-based. Thus, the beliefs boys may have about male identity depend on the perceptions, memories, introspections and reflections they know to be true within their social world. As such, it can be argued that in this study each of the boys who were selected as participants construct their male identity according to their own unique experiences in this world. It becomes important therefore, to look at how experiences in their life contribute to the formation of their male identity. The research aims were to study the major influences in each of these boys' lives, in order to understand and make meaning of how it influences each boy's constructed identity.

It is for this reason that I choose to work within a paradigm that acknowledges that knowledge can only be constructed from experiences and information the boys are exposed to through their interactions with others and the environment. Through interaction with one's world, one makes meaning of life. I therefore approached this research from a constructivist paradigm. According to Flick (2007, p. 12), constructionism informs many qualitative research studies, with the approach that the realities we study are social products of the actors, of interactions and institutions. Gergen, Lightfoot and Sydow (2004) explain social constructionism by referring to culturally based knowledge claims, the significance of language and the significance of relationships as opposed to individualism. They explain that social constructionism removes the rhetorical power of any one person or group claiming a universal truth, ethics or wisdom for all.

According to Terreblanche and Durheim (1999, p. 6), an interpretive approach aims to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action. This stance is characterized by the intersubjective or interactional epistemological stance adopted towards the reality to be studied and the methodologies to be used. These knowledges rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and the subject (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 1999). They argue that all participants bring with them their own background and values, as learned from their social environment. Factors such as values and skills taught by parents and the parents' own sense of their gender identity influence the way the boys' social world is perceived. It ultimately influences their interaction with those around them, thus influencing their behaviour. There are also other influential factors from the different systems they interact with (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 1999).

The primary data collecting method that this study employed was the semi-structured interview, which was facilitated by an interview guide. The guide consisted of themes or topics relevant to the research questions that were posed. The interview guide served as a basic checklist to ensure that the researcher covered all the relevant topics with each interviewee (Patton, 1987). I audio recorded the interviews, in order to enhance the authenticity of the information as well as to assist me when transcribing the interviews afterwards. The interviews were conducted at the school that the participants attend, a decision that was taken because this was found to be the most convenient place for these participants.

Two secondary data methods were used, namely collages and photographs. Both visual and textual data were collected through the collages that the participants constructed. In addition, the participants compiled a photo essay of the world that they live in. All the participants were provided with disposable cameras to assist them in doing this. The collages served as stimuli that I used to probe as well as introduce discussion on how males are depicted in society and their views on it during a focus group interview. The photographs that were analysed collaboratively provided me with additional information on the community that I did not have access to.

According to Daniels (2008), the value of visuals as qualitative data is that it can be used widely, especially in cross-cultural research and that it provides a more holistic understanding of the problem under investigation. This form of basic interpretive data allows the researcher access to information that may be unvoiced in an interview situation. Once the data was collected, the participants had the opportunity to display and discuss their pictures and ideas with the rest of the participants.

Merriam (1998) describes the researcher within qualitative research as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. When analysing the interviews, I looked for coherent and important examples, themes and patterns in the data. According to Patton (1987), this is a form of content analysis where the data is organized and the complexity simplified into some meaningful and manageable themes or categories. I transcribed the interviews, read through it and labeled the different parts or themes that were present in the data. When analyzing the collages, the same analytical approach was used. A combination of themes gathered from all forms of data enabled me to respond to the research questions and gave me a better understanding of the topic being researched. The purpose of the research was to understand how each of these primary school boys constructs their own male identity, as influenced by these school boys' interaction with their environment and the relationships they have with others.

Although Golafshani (2003, p. 599) describes the concept of validity to be rooted in the positivist tradition, qualitative researchers also need to ensure that their research is credible. This credibility refers to the quality and trustworthiness of the research. The use of various forms of data collection is an attempt to strengthen the credibility of this research. Through engaging in multiple methods of data collection, I sought to understand a more valid, reliable and diverse construction of the participants reality.

1.5 Ethical Considerations

The boys in the sample group are in primary school and are minors, in other words, younger than 18 years (Allen, 2008). Therefore, their assent, as well as the consent of their parents, was required for them to participate in this study. They were informed about their rights and what will be required, should they agree to participate. Participants were informed that their participation is voluntarily and that they could withdraw at any time from the study. An informed consent and assent form was drafted and signed by both the learners and their parents. The consent had to be given freely and I ensured that enough detail of the research was given to all parties for them to be informed about the study and what they are consenting to. As the interviews were conducted at the school, a quiet, private space was negotiated by me, in order to ensure that the privacy of the participants was respected. Permission to conduct the research was sought from the Western Cape Education Department, and permission to access the particular school was negotiated with the school principal and the school's governing body.

1.6 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 1: The first chapter is an introduction of the study. It provides brief information about the focus and aim of the study. It describes the problem to be researched, as well as the research design and methodology to be used.

Chapter 2: Chapter two provides a review of current literature pertaining to the research problem.

Chapter 3: This chapter provides a more detailed look at the research design and methodology.

Chapter 4: The data collected during this research is presented, interpreted and discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5: In the final chapter, the conclusions of the research are summarized. This chapter also recommends areas for further research pertaining to the construction of male identity among primary school boys.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

‘We may be born male or female, but we become men and women in a cultural context.’

Kimmel and Messner (1998)

2.1 Introduction

The complexities of male experiences seem to be disregarded in research as it rarely speaks about men’s gendered experiences (Cornwall, 1997). The general understanding of the term gender, although intended as the social representation of both men and women, masculinities and femininities, have for the most part been conflated with women (Shefer, Ratele, Stervel, Shabalal & Buikema, 2007). In South Africa, research which attempts to address gender inequalities, seem to focus on women’s issues and the complexities thereof, and this has created an inequality of its own. Women in such research then tend to mostly be portrayed as the oppressed and men as the oppressor or the perpetrator (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntyre and Harlow, 2004; Watts and Zimmerman, 2002). With a focus on women, and then mostly as oppressed, men are ignored or portrayed in very stereotypical ways.

Both local and international research points to the gap within gender research and the paucity of research that focus on men, the construction of their identity and different forms of masculinity. Cornwall (1997) states that the writings on men and on questions of masculinity reflects a belated recognition that men also have gendered identities. It is then these identities that I was interested in exploring, hoping to reveal their complexities. Similarly to Connell (2005), I argue that these complexities lie in the beliefs and practices that operate in particular situations, and the varying ways young men draw on them when they construct their ways of life. For this study I purposively selected six boys from a lower socio-economic community, seeking to understand how they construct their male identity, of which masculinity is a major part.

2.2 Theorising Masculinities

According to the online Oxford English Dictionary, masculinity is defined as “the assemblage of qualities regarded as the characteristics of men”. However, these are qualities that are often associated with power, aggression and violence. Although these qualities may afford men a position of dominance and power, it could also be detrimental to their own well-being and cause them to self-destruct. Morrell’s (2001) research on masculinity raises the question of whether men are in crisis and if they should be assisted to recover their masculinity. He refers to the volatility of gender change and the importance thereof for masculinity. He is of the view that masculinity can and does change and that it is therefore not a fixed, essential identity which all men have. One could argue that the male species is not a homogenous category, and that men differ. So too one could argue that there is no one form of masculinity, and therefore theorists talk about a number of masculinities (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012).

Connell’s (2005) theory of masculinity is probably the most well-known theory. It argues that men experience social pressure to conform to dominant ideas of being a man. He terms this dominant form of masculinity hegemonic masculinity which is understood to be the things men and societal institutions do that perpetuate the subordinations of females to males. This description of masculinity acknowledges that there are different ways of being a man, but that some forms of masculinity are considered more valuable than others. Due to the other forms of masculinities being regarded as less valuable, and is frowned upon if not conformed to, thus hegemonic masculinity is aspired to (Ratele, 2008; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

One could thus accept that hegemonic masculinity includes the domination of a specific masculinity over what is considered subordinate masculinities. So too it creates a hierarchy of masculinities that is set up in a way to maintain gender relations. This hierarchy consists of four types of relations, namely: dominant masculinities; complicit masculinities; marginalised masculinities; and subordinate masculinities (Kahn, 2009). In the next paragraph I will elaborate on these types.

Kahn (2009) describes the dominant masculinity as the type that is idealised and promoted as the socially expected ways of being male. In most western nations this is typified by wealth, aggressiveness, competition and heterosexuality. The second type of masculinity is complicit masculinity, which supports these characteristics, though in and by itself such characteristics are never as dominant. Men would participate in actions that comply with the dominant type of masculinity, with the hope that they would in some way be rewarded for being like the

dominant group. The difference is that at some level they recognise that they will never be a part of the dominant type of masculinity. Marginalised masculinities are described as being on the outskirts of the dominant group as it identifies with a social group that is not dominant.

The interests and perspectives of this type of masculinity is often not taken into consideration by the dominant group. Subordinate masculinities refer to an experience that are viewed as denigrated and not as what is traditionally accepted as “men’s actions and experiences”. According to Lusher and Robins (2009), the hegemonic masculinity sets up a positive relationship with complicit masculinity while simultaneously constructing a negative relation with subordinate masculinity. Unlike the term subordinate, complicity hardly speaks of being dominated. Instead complicity speaks of alliance. Thus, in a given context both leadership and domination occur: hegemonic masculinity illegitimately dominates subordinate masculinity while simultaneously and legitimately leading complicit masculinity. What differentiates these styles of hegemony is the perceived legitimacy of power relations.

Cornwall (1997) argues that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is most valuable in showing that it is not men per se, but certain ways of being and behaving that are associated with dominance and power. There is variety within each cultural context regarding the ways in which masculinity is associated with power. Some ways of being a man are valued more than others, but this is not to say that all men behave in this way. Therefore, not all men have power and not all of those who have power are necessarily men. In this regard, Ratele (2008) prefers to speak of a ruling masculinity, which is intricately connected to other positions of power, either enabling a person to access other forms of power available in a particular context, and consequently, to engage in specifiable practices, or denying them such access.

These other forms of power could be attached to money, race, physical strength, height public office, religious office, multiple sexual partners, or some other valorised advantages by a group of significance to the individual. When an individual male verbally or physically expresses elements of ruling masculinity he is, whether intentionally or unconsciously, trying to achieve or strengthen his control of the material and discursive environment around himself. Certain authors have explained actions where men intimidate other men, as, ways of showing their dominance over others. However, it is also showcasing a hegemonic form of masculinity. However, Ratele (2008) argues that when men pattern their lives around these ideas it is not without fear, anxiety, modifications, contradictions and resistance. Sometimes men invest so intensely in these behaviours that it could end up posing risk to their own lives. Ratele (2008) goes further to state that to follow the ideology of a ruling masculinity is not

only destructive to other forms of masculinities; it is also turning against its own supporters. It becomes a self-destructive way of living for those who ascribe to it in their daily lives, as it is woven into their entire life-world and health-world.

Almost two decades after the concept of hegemonic masculinity was first formulated, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge the considerable influence this formulation has had on the thinking about men, gender, and social hierarchy. They state that hegemonic masculinity was never assumed to be normal, but that it was certainly normative. They argue that hegemonic masculinity embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men.

My position is that masculinities are fluid and should not be considered as belonging in a fixed way to any one group of men. This is supported by Ratele (1998), who writes that masculinity not only vary with historical periods, cultures, societies and classes, but it also varies within these social scientific categories. I argue that masculinity is socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival understandings of what being a man should involve. Masculinities are constantly being protected and defended, are constantly breaking down and being recreated. For gender activists this provides space for optimism, because it acknowledges the possibility of intervening in the politics of masculinity to promote masculinities that are more peaceful and harmonious. The challenge however lies in identifying what forces operate to effect change in masculinities, when, where and how such changes occur and what their effects are (Morrell, 2001).

2.3 Adolescence and the search for a suitable masculinity

Adolescence is the period between childhood and adulthood (Louw, Louw & Ferns, 2007), and a developmental bridge between being a child and becoming an adult. Demarcating adolescence is not easy, because the general characteristics of adolescence are not easily defined. Depending on the biological and socio-cultural factors, as well as on individual differences, the age at which adolescence as a separate developmental stage begins, varies from 11 to 13 years, while the age at which it ends is between 17 and 21 years. While masculinity is not automatically acquired by a boy, boys and men are not entirely free to choose those images which please them.

Adams and Govender (2008) advance the view that a boy cannot declare himself a man until he has successfully completed the transition from boyhood to adulthood, and has learnt the

socially prescribed roles appropriate for his gender. Boys are taught to distance themselves from those characteristics considered to be inferior or inappropriate for the masculinities within their given context. Connell's (2005) research has found that in adolescence, the making of masculinities lies both in the ways existing masculinities are appropriated and inhabited, as well as in the negotiation, and sometimes rejection of old patterns. This is because masculinities are constructed, over time, in young people's encounters with a system of gender relations which may differ between societies, as well as change over time.

So too, Morrell (2001) argues that the state of masculinity is not inherited nor is it acquired in a one-off way. It is a construction of class, race and other factors which are interpreted through the prism of age. He argues that boys develop a masculine gender identity which is deficient relative to the adult masculinity of men. This view finds support with Connell (2005, p. 16) who states that the adult world that boys are confronted with, is a world already made, it is not a product of their own desire or practice. However, boys might not view this as so initially, as during adolescence boys are in the process of becoming participants in that world. The stages by which boys become men are sources of anxiety and a rite of passage. There is no set or prescribed procedure, other than the determination to become 'a man'.

Some research shows the stage of moving from childhood to adulthood to happen differently in various cultures. In some cultures, boys receive assistance in this transitional process. For example in Xhosa culture 'ulwaluko' is an initiation ritual performed to transform boys to men. Gqola's research (2007) challenges a public perception of this ritual as only a physical transformation for the boy through the act of circumcision. It is a process that involves multiple transitions from being 'amakhwenke', to 'abakewetha', to 'amakrwala' to 'amafana' and then to 'amadoda'. Therefore it cannot be thought of as a transformation that happens immediately.

Not all cultures have a ceremony marking the entry of young boys into adult masculinity. However, research done by Salo (2007) on the social construction of masculinity within the racially marginalised communities on the Cape flats in Cape Town, indicates how even gangs acknowledge the importance of the making of a man through the rites of passage. It is explained as the start of the journey into the wider world of gendered adulthood and as in other rites of passage, men are encouraged to take on the values and responsibilities that signify manhood in their communities.

2.4 Masculinities in Context

‘Masculinity is not a property of individual men, but a socially constructed phenomenon, an everyday system of beliefs and performances that regulates behaviour between men and women as well as between men and other men. Individual men’s attitudes and behaviour largely emerge as a by-product of the very construction of masculinity in various cultures and contexts. Therefore, if the risk behaviours of men are to undergo substantial modification, these constructions of masculinity itself must be revealed, called into question and challenged.’

Lindegger and Maxwell, 2007

Context gives an understanding of the individual and his or her world in which he or she interacts with others. According to Lusher and Robins (2007), context is produced through interdependency which articulates the relations between social structures, individual attributes, and cultural norms of people in a social setting. Context can be seen as the specific configuration of these interdependencies.

Connell (2005) notes the importance of context, to gain understanding of what sustains or maintains gendered power relations, as well as how they may be subverted and how the system as a whole fits together. Kahn’s research (2009) is interested in how social context affects men, how they view themselves as men, and how this may influence their interaction and relationships with others. Cornwall (1997) states that gender relations are context bound, as in one setting we might behave in one way, while in others we might behave differently.

Connell and Messerschmidt’s (2005) research in the reformulation of hegemonic masculinity theory, recognizes the geography of masculinities. They found it to be an interplay at local, regional, and global levels. However, Lusher and Robins’ (2007) research found that individual gender performances are much more apparent in local settings than in regional or global settings. It is in local settings that personal resistance and personal reinforcement of gender relations can occur, though these local settings are indubitably linked to regional and global settings.

When relating this to the South African context, Morrell’s (2001) research has argued that history cannot be taken out of the equation. Morrell (2001) indicates that the dominant and subordinate masculinities in the South African context emerge in relation to structural factors such as the racial and economic ordering of society during the apartheid era. He states that these values and practices continue to inform South African masculinity albeit to a waning degree in the contemporary post-apartheid period.

According to Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012), the present day political landscape of South Africa is a clear product of its colonial and apartheid past. They discuss the shift in hegemonic masculinity that they attribute to the shift in political dominance in South Africa.

They argue that the nationalist government associated their ideals with a rigid hierarchical social order and glorified militarism which defend and reproduce hegemony. The democratic transition under President Nelson Mandela represented a “new” masculinity. He challenged much of the violent and authoritarian behaviours and attitudes and embraced a more equitable masculinity; thus providing proof that a more positive hegemony, without oppression, is possible. However, the current leadership aligns itself more with a masculinity that promotes tradition and patriarchy.

Cornwall (1997) states that within a patriarchal society men are pressurized to conform to a dominant masculinity. Johnson (1997) defines a patriarchal society as a society which is male dominated, male identified and male centred. To describe patriarchy as male dominated signifies an overrepresentation of males in cultural institution occupying positions of power and leadership. Male identification leans itself to the utilization of male norms to determine the value or worthiness of human behaviour. And describing patriarchy as male centred means that what members of the culture largely focus on are the activities of men. Within patriarchal societies men become the centre of attention through cultural institutions that are dominated by men, advocating for men’s perspectives (Kahn, 2009).

Patriarchy is dominant in South African society. I am arguing that in South African communities, gender, race and socio-economic status cannot be divorced from the process of identity construction. Referring to the coloured culture, Field (2001) argues that the search for a gendered identity is intertwined with the search for a racial identity. Adhikari (2005) explains that the concept of “colourness” was formed as a social identity since the formation of the South African state in 1910. The South African Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) defined a Coloured person as a person who is not white and not of African black origin, or Bantu. The term “Bantu” was the official term used for black South Africans by the apartheid regime. Adhikari (2005) further states that this intermediate status of coloured people within the racial hierarchy spurred hope that they might be assimilated into the dominant culture, which simultaneously generated a fear that they might lose their position of privilege assumedly enjoyed under the previous system and be relegated to the status of the oppressed. This intermediate status has created a sense amongst some of the coloured population that they were not white enough before, and also not black enough now, a sentiment that is still evident today.¹

¹ During South Africa’s rule by the National party, the racial classifications of African, Coloured, Indian and White were used as classification to discriminate between groups.

The residential settlement that provides the context for this study came into being as a direct consequence of a Group Areas Act of 1960 decision to resettle coloureds of the town who were forcefully removed and relocated. According to Salo (2007), these residential settlements illustrates the historical trajectory of segregationist and apartheid state policies that sought to categorise people according to race, constrain them to live in set geographic locations and determine what housing and services they would receive. Field (2001) discusses the difficulties young coloured boys experience to construct a positive masculine identity within these marginalised contexts given the restriction of their choices. The examples of positive masculinities modelled in their communities, are limited, while the dominant ones are often associated with idealised aggression.

However, research done by Gibson and Lindegaard (2007) found that there are boys who live within these contexts, but who try to refrain from violence and thus resisting a culture of violence. They suggest that non-violent masculinities might be a form of social resistance that challenges dominating perceptions of masculinity, and which might thereby contribute to social change. They suggest a shift in focus to social relations and experiences.

2.5 The influence of relationships on masculinities

There is a body of research that investigates the relationship between parents and children, especially the manner in which the child is able to freely communicate with their parents, plays a significant role in development of the child's identity. It is widely accepted that for a boy, his relationship with his father is pivotal for his development into a man. Richter and Morrell (2006) distinguish between fathers and fatherhood. For them, fatherhood is much more than just making a biological contribution to the creation of the child. It is a sense of connectedness and a particular kind of protective and respectful relationship that can be taken on by other men, in the absence of the biological father. Ratele, Shefer and Clowes (2012) refer to them as social fathers.

Research done by Madhavan, Richter, Norris and Hosegood (2014) cautions us about applying white, middle class models of fathering to non-European, low-income populations that might have a different model of parenting due, to a combination of economic necessity and cultural preferences. We should not so easily assume that an absent father is detrimental for a healthy construction of masculinity in boys. We should rather focus on the quality of the relationships with positive male rolemodels present in the community. Clowes, Ratele and Shefer (2014) support this belief by suggesting that the biological determinism of

“fatherhood” be challenged. They suggest that we begin to explore more flexible versions of masculinity, fatherhood and family and that we focus on the fathering role of all adult men.

The very first relationship most boys have is with their mother, who they then later turn away from to identify more with a male figure. Diamond (2004) has researched this dis-identification of boys with the mother figure in order to establish a secure sense of gender identity. He states that both the security of the attachment with the mother, as well as the mother’s ability to reflect upon her own and her son’s subjectivity, is important in the formation of a gendered identity. Boys identify with their mother’s sense of relating to them as a male person of the opposite sex. Thus, it is argued that a boy’s sense of maleness is linked to the internalization of how his mother relate to him. Bush (2004) in his research on the participation of black mothers in the development of their son’s manhood and masculinity has found that these mothers play a significant and healthy role in the development of their son’s manhood and masculinity.

The influence of mothers on the construction of male identity in their sons, is an important research area, especially in the absence of fathers. Bush (2004) found that single black mothers used diverse methods to teach their sons, which included magazines, television and acts of positive and negative behaviours of men in the community. They also used themselves as examples to imbue their sons with respect, honesty, a sense of responsibility, compassion and individual strength that benefits the collective.

However, Sylvester (2010), researching the experiences of adolescent boys in households without a father figure, found that within South African disadvantaged communities, that because mothers have to work very hard to support their families, they are also absent from their son’s lives. This makes it challenging to provide their sons with the necessary care, discipline, support and household rules. Often these boys look for a sense of belonging outside of their family, and form a greater attachment with their peer group. They start to rely on their friends for support and socialising.

Migliaccio’s research (2009) shows that a man’s friendship is more than simply a product of being a man. He explains it as a performance of masculinity that is influenced by gender expectations. Thus, when men interact with their friends, they are “doing” masculinity. Oransky and Marecek (2009) researched masculinity and emotions in boys’ friendships and peer groups. They discovered that boys describe their own interactions with other boys as centering on taunting, mocking and shoving others around. Although these practices are

hurtful, boys valued them as means of bolstering one another's masculinities. They also associated expressions of care, concern, hurt and worry in boys, with being girly or gay.

This research found that some boys acknowledged that they put on a show of manly stoicism to avoid their peer group's disapproval. Research done by Ratele, Shefer, Strebel and Fouten (2010) foregrounds how articulations of masculinity by boys are characterised by efforts to counter male blushing – meaning not to be considered girl-like or a “moffie”. They describe the unblushing male as a set of activities against which boys measure themselves and are measured by others to fit with hegemonic masculinity in a particular context.

Although the importance of family structure and peer group association is noted as important contributing factors, these are not the only influences on the identity construction of boys. Ampofo and Boateng (2007) in their research among Ghanaian boys refer to the importance of having gender sensitive adults in the community as role models for young boys. These people do not have to be role models in the active, formal and public sense normally applied, but they can simply be people to live with and to observe. They deduce that one can not bring about transformation without working in the community, letting people see the harmful effects of hegemonic masculinities and the positive effects of alternative forms.

2.6 The enactment and embodiment of masculinities

Connell (2005) claims that true masculinity is often believed to emanate from a man's body. He states that either the body drives and directs action or it sets limits to action. Bodies which are associated with physical strength and virility are easily associated with manliness. However frail, limp and weak boyish appearances are considered a sign of unmanliness (O'Donoghue, 2005).

Swain (2003) found sporting success to be a key signifier of successful masculinity, and that high performance in sport and games were generally the single most effective way of gaining popularity and status in a male peer group. Strength, power, skill, fitness and speed were the key indicators of toughness, stamina and being a winner for boys. Boys who emulate these characteristics usually end up being the most popular boys in school. Swain (2003) also highlights the importance that boys attach to the type of clothing that they wear. The body becomes a sign-bearing and sign-wearing mechanism, and is also a producer of signs. The expectation that boys will conform to the group's dress code is created. During adolescence the impression is created that masculine competence is on trial or show through looking good and wearing the right stuff. Swain argues that although the perception is created that “to look

is to be”, it is also a manner of securing safety within a group. Conforming protects them from being considered “other” and creates a sense of compliance.

Although most males attempt to comply to a ruling form of masculinity, it is beyond the reach of most men, most of the time. They constantly have to check their gestures, words, and actions to make sure that it complies with the valued form of masculinity. This guarded attitude towards a notion that is most probably unachievable, may create apprehension. It may also lead to non-nurturing and unsafe practices by men endangering those who engage in it. Therefore displaying toughness when negotiation is required, or hyper-sexuality when safety is required, may not be in a man’s best interest (Ratele, 2008).

2.7 Summary

In this chapter I presented a review of the literature that I found to be relevant to the study. The aims were to provide a broad description of the topic that was to be researched. It explains the diverse forms of masculinities, and how it orders itself within a social hierarchy. It revealed the fluidity of masculinity and indicated the social construction thereof. This enables the researcher to gain the necessary knowledge to develop the theoretical framework for this study. In the next chapter this framework will be explained and the methodology and research methods unpacked.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

‘Some believe that it is less important to know what masculinity “is” or where it “comes from” and more important to know how people understand what masculinity is, who gets to decide that, how we learn about that and what impact that understanding has for us.’

Kahn, 2009

Kahn (2009) implies that masculinity ultimately “is” the way in which we come to understand, define, measure and react to it. Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) imply that masculinity is fluid and that it could be subjected to change. Thus, that what “is”, according to how we understand it to be, may vary. Both these views capture the framework from which I aim to approach this research study. This research will therefore align itself most effectively with a paradigm where different views are brought into consideration and where knowledge is considered to be constructed according to interactions with various social worlds, which are constantly changing. I have chosen an interpretive/constructivist paradigm, a way of thinking about how participants’ make meaning of their reality and knowledge formation that influence me in my decisions about research design and methodology. In this chapter I present and defend the decisions I made about the research and its design.

3.2 Qualitative Research as Methodology

The choice between qualitative and quantitative research is strongly influenced by the researcher’s own worldview. Furthermore, the researcher’s own ontological and epistemological assumptions determine the kinds of methods to be used. A qualitative researcher is more likely to gain knowledge and understanding of a phenomenon, through immersion and by experiencing what it is like to be part of a specific culture or community. I would consider quantitative methods too limiting, as it is looking only at a small portion of a participant’s reality. According to Fouché and Schurink (2011), the qualitative researcher concerns herself with understanding, rather than explaining the participant’s point of view. Like them I believe that each of us have a unique point of view, and will experience different realities (Krauss, 2005), something that needs to be accommodated within the design.

This qualitative research is interested in capturing the points of view expressed by different primary school boys concerning their male identity, and for me to make sense of it. It seeks to develop knowledge and understanding of primary school boys’ perception of male identity, how these perceptions are formed and where it is being influenced from. The aim of the

research is to expand the knowledge base on the construction of male identity in young adolescent boys growing up within a lower-socio economic coloured township context in the Western Cape, South Africa. The following research questions directed this study:

1. What are primary school boys' understandings of male identity?
2. What are the influences on the construction of male identity in primary school boys?
3. What kind of men do these boys aspire to be?

Draper (2004) explains qualitative research as research concerned with the quality or nature of human experiences. The research questions enquire about what, how and why certain phenomena occur, and the meaning that the individual put to it. Durrheim (1999) explains that qualitative methods will allow the researcher to study selected issues in depth, with openness, and in detail as they identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data. This is because qualitative research is assumed to be naturalistic, holistic and inductive.

3.3 Research Paradigm

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2011, p. 13), a paradigm is “the net that contains the researcher’s epistemological, ontological and methodological premises”. Guba and Lincoln (1994) try to simplify their definition of a paradigm, by using the description of a worldview through which the nature of the world, the individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, is defined for its holder. The beliefs regarding this world, is considered to be basic, as there are no methods to establish its ultimate truthfulness. Silverman (2010) refers to O’Brien’s (1993) analogy of a kaleidoscope view of the world. As the tube is turned, different lenses come into play and the combinations of colours and shapes shift patterns. Similarly, we can shift our perspective and understanding of the world according to the theoretical lens, or paradigm that we choose to interpret it through.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) describe all research as interpretive as it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Each interpretive paradigm makes a particular demand on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them. Four general interpretative paradigms which structure qualitative research is highlighted by Denzin and Lincoln (2011): positivist and post-positivist; constructivist-interpretive; critical; as well as feminist - post-structural. Not one of these interpretive paradigms is elevated above the other. They are all human constructions and simply represents the most informed and sophisticated view that its

proponents have been able to devise, given the way they have chosen to respond to the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The constructivist paradigm is distinguished from the other paradigms mostly through its ontology, which is defined by Guba and Lincoln (1994) as the form and nature of reality, and what can be known about it. Compared to positivism, post-positivism and critical theory which ascribes to a form of realism as ontology, the constructivist ontology is relativist in that it takes multiple realities into consideration. Relativist ontology is dependent for its form and content on the individual or group who constructed it. It can be multiple, intangible mental constructions which is based on social interactions and experiences. Although elements of ideas and beliefs can be shared by groups of people and cultures, the realities of individuals are more specific and local in nature. Ultimately, such constructed realities can be continuously altered (Guba & Lincoln: 1994) due to the dynamic worlds' influences on the individual. Constructivism further assumes a subjectivist epistemology, where the knower and investigator actively link to co-create understandings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

3.4 Research Design

The type of design chosen for this study aims to explain how the life world of the participants develops and how they experience it. According to Fouche and Schurink (2011), phenomenology is the intent to understand the phenomena under study on their own terms. Therefore the product of the research is a careful description of the social actions of the participants. As the researcher I need to be able to distance myself from my own preconceived ideas of the participants' everyday worlds. Similarly to Groenewald (2003), I will aim to interpret the essence of the participants' experiences, without influencing them in any given way. He explains that the aim of phenomenological research is to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon, refraining from any pre-given framework, but remaining true to the facts.

3.5 Context for the study

The community that the sample population reside in, is historically an area that people classified as coloured South Africans were forced to move to after the implementation of the Group Areas Act, during the apartheid years. This is a low socio-economic community which faces challenges of high density, lack of space and limited available land. There is a high unemployment rate amongst adults in the community. Many who are able to find a work, is

subjected to piece-work. This has a direct influence on the financial instability and poverty experienced by many families in this community.

The population was delimited to boys who attend a primary school situated just outside the community boundary. The participants in this study are six primary school boys between the ages of 10 and 13, who are in the early stages of adolescence. This stage was decided on because numerous studies refer to the complexity of this developmental stage and the difficulty that boys have in trying to establish their own identity, while simultaneously trying to maintain peer acceptance.

In qualitative research the sample is intentionally selected according to the needs of the study. This type of selection process is called purposive sampling (Boeije, 2010). According to Silverman (2010), purposive sampling demands us to think critically about the parameters of the population we are studying and then choose our sample carefully. It was important that the boys who were selected were information rich informants who were identified as having the ability to conceptualise and understand the interview questions and actively participate in research activities.

3.6 Methods of data collection

Durheim (1999) emphasizes the essentiality of sound data to analyse and interpret, in order to draw valid conclusions from the research study. He furthermore (1999) states that all researchers agree on the importance of the validity of data, but interpretive and constructionist researchers adopt a more inductive approach to data collection. They investigate how categories of observation emerge in context. In this qualitative research study, data collection was done using both textual and visual methods. The methods were semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews, collages and photo essays.

3.6.1 Interviews

Two types of interviews were used during this research; semi-structured interviews, as well as focus-group interviews. Silverman (2010, p. 190) describes doing an interview as the most natural thing in the world. In qualitative research, interviews aims to 'get inside the heads' of particular groups of people and to tell things from their 'point of view' (p. 191). Similar to Silverman's (2010) description, the researcher wants to examine the active work that interviewees do in producing their answers.

According to Berg (2009), the semi-structured interview permits the interviewer to probe way beyond what is answered. The questions of the semi-structured interview is consistent and for every interviewee, but the interviewer is allowed the freedom to digress. The scope of the interview is limited to a specific predetermined subtopic, or theme. Therefore, the interviewer makes use of an interview guide (see appendix A). The interview guide contains all the subtopics and some key questions, but it allows the researcher the freedom to build a conversation within that specific subject area (Singleton & Straits, 2010). According to Patton (1990), the interview guide provides a framework to develop questions, sequence them and to make decisions regarding information to be pursued in greater depth.

A second type of interview that was used in the study was the focus group interview. This interview or session was scheduled with the participants to allow them to report on their collages in group context. The purpose of this collaborative session was to validate their experiences within community through the explanations of individual stories. When defining the focus group interview, Barbour (2007) refers to Krintzinger and Barbour (1999, p. 20) who state that “any group discussion may be called a focus group as long as the researcher is actively encouraging of, and attentive to, the group interaction”. This definition helps to clear the confusion between a focus group discussion and a focus group interview which both serves the purpose to explore, rather than describe or explain a phenomenon. In this context I applied the skills of a moderator, in order to control the dynamics in the group and to allow each participant to express themselves freely and comfortably (Babbie, 2010).

3.6.2 Collages and Photographs

Visual research enables a large range of responses, whereas interviews are limited to a verbal response which favours the more articulate. The term visual is not about an image or object itself, but it is more concerned with the perception and the meaning attached to them, by the participant (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Daniels (2008) found that visual tools are able to penetrate the world of the participant in ways that interviews and observations cannot. Through photographs the participants can provide the researcher with access to very private domains, without the researcher having to be physically present. In her research on community building and leadership in a South African settlement, Daniels (2003) found photographs to be representative of the connectors to what the participants felt passionate about. It allowed access into the world of the participants in a more personal way than the interviews did, as it allowed them to choose what they wanted to reveal.

In the study the participants were asked to take their own photographs with a disposable camera, as the aim was for the boys to reveal the world from their perspective. Boeije (2010) points us towards the empowering qualities of this method, as it raises issues that would otherwise not have been addressed, and thus draws meaning that might not have been found. However, Daniels (2008) reminds us that the participants trust us as researchers to represent them in a truthful and respectable manner, and that one should always be conscious of the rights of those depicted in the photographs. She cautions us to critically reflect on what is ethical when using these images in educational research, especially when we work with vulnerable populations.

Another form of visual imaging that was used is the collage. A collage is a form of art which allows the creator to use different forms to create a new whole. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p. 488), art is a tool for thinking and a very powerful means of expression and promoting discussion. It is able to express what the artist is not able to communicate in words, or sometimes what is not even known to the artists themselves. It can thus be used as an additional language to express the innermost experiences of children, who often lack the vocabulary to express themselves eloquently (Daniels, 2008).

3.7 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis has to generate meaning, making it a unique and powerful epistemological tool to understanding what might be seen as the mundane experiences of participants. These experiences, when approached from an analytical, naturalistic perspective, can be a source of significant meaning. Qualitative data analysis is therefore able to provide a method for categorizing and organising the subtleties of everyday social phenomena, in a meaningful way. In the process of creating these meanings, the researcher becomes an active participant, aligning itself with the subjectivist epistemology of constructivism (Krauss, 2005).

The processes of analysis and interpretation of data involve disciplined study, creative insight and careful attention to the purposes of the evaluation. Patton (1990, p. 144) defines analysis as “the process of bringing order to the data, organising what is there into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units”. Interpretation of the data involves “attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns, and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions” (Patton, 1990, p. 144).

The process by which data is broken down, conceptualised, and put back together in new ways is called coding. In this research study the researcher will make use of open-coding, whereby the data is not only broken down, but also compared for similarities and differences. During this process questions about the phenomena reflected in the data, are asked. This allows the researcher to question and explore biases and assumptions brought to, or developed during the research. Thus the researcher can be led to new discoveries (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

3.8 Validity and reliability of data

Thomas and Magilvy (2011) refer to the concept of “qualitative rigor” as ways to establish trust or confidence in qualitative findings. Rigor, in qualitative terms, is seen as similar to validity and reliability in quantitative terminology. Although qualitative rigor itself is an oxymoron, as rigor refers to something harsh and inflexible, qualitative research is representative of an explorative journey that leads to new discoveries and does not lend itself to strict boundaries. However, rigor is useful in establishing consistency of the study methods over time and provides an accurate representation of the population studied (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011).

Instead of referring to validity and reliability, Guba and Lincoln (1985) introduce the concept of trustworthiness. They divide this concept into credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability. Credibility is very similar to internal validity in quantitative research. To achieve credibility the researcher will review individual transcripts and search for similarities within and across study participants. In this research study multiple methods are used to study the same phenomena. This aligns itself with the concept of triangulation, which according to Patton (1990) strengthens the analysis process of data.

Consistency in overall patterns of data from different sources and reasonable explanations for differences in data from various sources contribute significantly to the overall credibility of the findings presented in the evaluation report. Suggested techniques to strengthen credibility, by Thomas and Magilvy (2011), includes spending prolonged and varied time with participants, interview techniques, and transcripts when writing up the final report and also using the direct words of the participants.

The concept that aligns itself most with quantitative reliability is dependability and it requires the researcher to provide a detailed description of the research methods. Transferability

indicates the extent to which particular findings of one phenomenon is applicable in other contexts or with other participants. Confirmability occurs after all the previous criteria have been established. The researcher must be aware and open to the study and unfolding results. It requires the researcher to be self-reflective and have an awareness of how her own preconceptions may affect the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Thomas & Magilvy, 2011).

Although all of the above criteria is an attempt to establish consensus on how to achieve quality in quantitative research, Rolfe (2004) argues that uniformity cannot be easily achieved. He reasons the qualitative research itself cannot be collectively defined by any unified body of theory, methodology or method. He concludes his argument by stating that qualitative research is fluid and multiple and each research study requires its own approach to validity and must be appraised on its own merits.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Babbie (2010) states that what is considered as morality and ethics is dependent on the agreement among members of a group. Similarly, to know what is considered ethical and unethical in a specific community or society, a researcher also needs to be aware of the ethical conduct in the social research community. Babbie (2010) points out certain ethical agreements that are considered the most important in social research. I will discuss the agreements relevant to this research study in the next paragraph.

Social research is intrusive and requires people to reveal personal information about themselves and others. Therefore, it is important for participation to be voluntary and for participants to be fully informed about what will be required of them as well as what the process will entail. Participants should know what their rights are and that they are able to withdraw from the study without retribution from the researcher. The researcher should never reveal information that could embarrass as well as endanger the subjects or endanger their relationships with others. The participants might be faced with aspects of their lives they have never before considered. The researcher should be sensitive to these aspects and the participants should be very well informed (Babbie: 2010). This raises the concept of informed consent.

Daniels (2008) cautions us to think of the level of understanding which participants have when signing the consent form, especially when working with vulnerable populations such as children, poor communities and semi-literate adults. As the population I have chosen to work with, fulfils this criteria, I made the decision to visit each participant's home and explain the

consent form to him and the responsible adults in his family. This created opportunities where I could clarify as well as address any misunderstandings or concerns. I found that the responsible adults were informed and in a better position to sign the written consent form. So, too the participant was better informed to give his assent to participate in the study.

I explained that to keep their identities anonymous, they were to be given a pseudonym when the data is presented. Any photographs that will be published or used in the public domain will be manipulated so that the identities of the participant or other individuals will not be made known. However, Daniels (2008) again cautions that blackening out of faces does not mean that all identifiable information of the participant is removed. I therefore decided to approach the participant after the picture was taken and altered, to reach agreement on whether it can be published or not.

Before the research commenced, I first obtained permission from the Western Cape Education Department to access the school (See appendix B). I also met with the principal of the school, to fully explain to him what the research will entail, and to ensure him that participation in the study will not disrupt the participants' learning.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter I explained the design, paradigm and methodology to be used in this research study. I explained the methods of data collection, as well as how the data will be analysed, keeping in consideration validity, reliability as well as ethics. In Chapter 4 the findings of the data will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

Presenting the data

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I described how the data were collected, organised and reduced. All the data were accounted for and sorted using processes discussed in Chapter 3. In this chapter I present the themes that emerged from the analysis. I start this chapter by sharing my perspective on the community as I gained access to the participants and their families. Paradise Park is a pseudonym that I assigned for this community. To assure the anonymity of the participants, pseudonyms were also assigned for them. My introduction of the participants is accompanied by a description of their living arrangements in an effort to contextualise their experiences. I then present the themes that the data analysis of the transcriptions, the collages and photographs produced. For the collage activity the participants were instructed to visually illustrate what their understandings were of being a man. They made use of magazine clippings, symbols, signs, drawings and text, to produce their collages. The participants individually explain how their collages illustrated their understanding of maleness.

4.2 Acquainting myself with Paradise Park and its inhabitants

According to Babbie and Mouton (2005, p. 271), the qualitative researcher needs to make a deliberate attempt to place herself in the shoes of those she observes and studies, to potentially gain an insider perspective. They emphasize the importance for the researcher to understand the participants' actions, decisions, behaviours, practices and rituals from their own perspective. It is for this reason that I decided to pay a visit to each of the six participant's homes and families, to explain the research study and to gain informed consent. These visits to the participants' homes were a negotiated process and happened after six o'clock in the afternoon, when their parents or guardians were likely to be home.

Driving into Paradise Park, the density of this small community, which is boxed in between a national road and a municipal grave yard, became strikingly obvious. Houses are built in close proximity to each other and the narrow pavements and streets were overflowing with people. Though the visible presence of adults increases in the late afternoon when people return home from work, there is also a constant presence throughout the day, of the unemployed on the streets of this community. I observed many people, mostly men, outside in their yards, or on the streets, socializing with others. Most of the women that I saw on the streets of Paradise

Park were accompanied by children, so I assumed that they had just collected their children or were returning home.

The feel of busyness in the community that I encountered was contradicted by what seemed to me to be low level energy activities that adults being involved in. Many of the adults in the community are unemployed and I saw many standing together on street corners, leaning over home fences talking to others, or just sitting outside their homes on crates watching passers-by. This was observed during daytime. The children though, were playing in the streets, something that I put down to the high density in this community, and the lack of play space for them. In my observations during the weeks that I visited there, I observed that the activities on the streets of Paradise Park increase on Fridays. I found that drivers try to avoid the traffic jam on the national road by taking an alternative route through Paradise Park. I recall being concerned about children being hit by the cars and taxis that were passing through the community.

My first contact was with Adam, who directed me to his house. On the plot, the main house was old and the paint had faded. In the backyard of this plot were four additional wooden structures that more families occupied. Adam's family of four were living in one of these wooden structures. To get to their home, I had to walk across planks and bricks that created a walkway over the muddiness that was caused by the rain. Once inside, I found myself in one big room that was subdivided by cupboards to create a sleeping area and a small cooking area. There was no place to receive visitors, so due to a lack of space, his parents and I conducted this meeting outside their dwelling. Four of the six participants lived in similar dwellings to the one that I described above.

There are many families in this community who live in these wooden homes, also called bungalows or Wendy-houses. It is the norm for families' homes to be on plots that also housed other close relatives such as their grandparents, or community members who rent out parts of their plot. As I am from this area, I am familiar with this community's long, unsuccessful plight to the local municipality to make more land available to its coloured community. Due to a lack of land allocated to the coloured community, there was no place to expand to, making accommodation a major problem for this growing community. From my visits to each of their homes, I found that in most instances the main house belongs to the grandparents, and that their children or other extended family members reside on the property in extensions to the house, or in Wendy homes. Due to limited indoor space, all of the introductory meetings, with the exception of Jerry, were conducted outside the bungalows.

Mostly I met with only the mothers of the participants who made themselves available for these meetings.

These individual visits to each boy's family home created a valuable opportunity to me to gain an understanding of the family structures and living arrangements of the participants. My home visits allowed me to introduce myself to the parents and extended family members, as well as to explain to them what the study was about. The added benefit was that I gained valuable background information on the participants' home circumstances and the resources that they have access to. All six assented to be part of the study after their parents consented to them becoming participants.

4.3 Introducing the participants

The six male participants were between the ages of ten and thirteen years old and all reside in Paradise Park. In order to provide a more holistic perspective of each participant, I will introduce them according to their respective living arrangements, focussing on each participant's home and family structure.

Adam is a thirteen year old boy and the oldest of three sons. His brothers are ten and two years old respectively. They live with both their parents in a bungalow on the property of their landlord. They share this property with the landlord and his family who resides in the main house, a young couple and their child who occupies another bungalow, as well as a man and women, each living in their own bungalow. Adam's family's bungalow is sub-divided in a sleeping area for the family, and a cooking area.

Adam's father is a painter and his mother works twice a week as a domestic worker. His father does not however have permanent employment and is often in-between jobs. On the days when his mother work, she pays twenty five rand to keep his brother in the local crèche. Adam explained that although his father is the breadwinner, his mother shares the financial responsibility of the family.

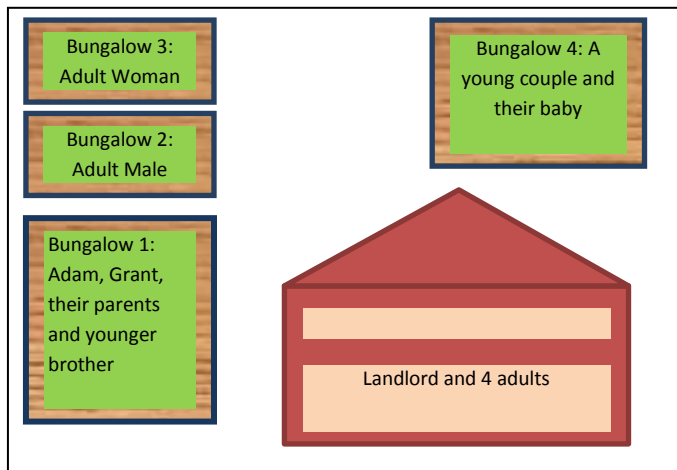


Figure 1: Adam's Home

Mike is a twelve year old boy who is currently in grade six and who enjoys playing rugby. He has four brothers of which the youngest two are twins. His mother is a single parent and breadwinner. His eldest brother is a vendor and the second eldest brother a high school student. They live in the main house, which they share with a woman tenant and her child. On the premises is another structure, which is used by his vendor brother as a fruit and vegetable stall.

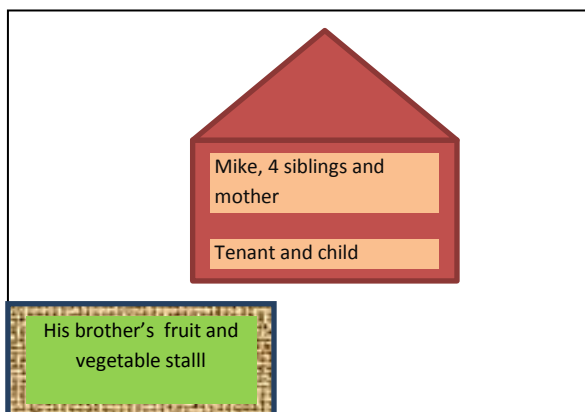


Figure 2: Mike's Home

Jack is eleven years of age and currently in grade five. He lives with his mother, siblings and grandparents in the main house on their property. His aunt, her husband and their two children live in an informal extension to the house. Another couple and their baby also live on the property. They are distant relatives of the participant and run a little shop from home. Jack's father also lives, in a small outdoor structure on the property. Both his parents are unemployed and his grandparents are the breadwinners of the family.

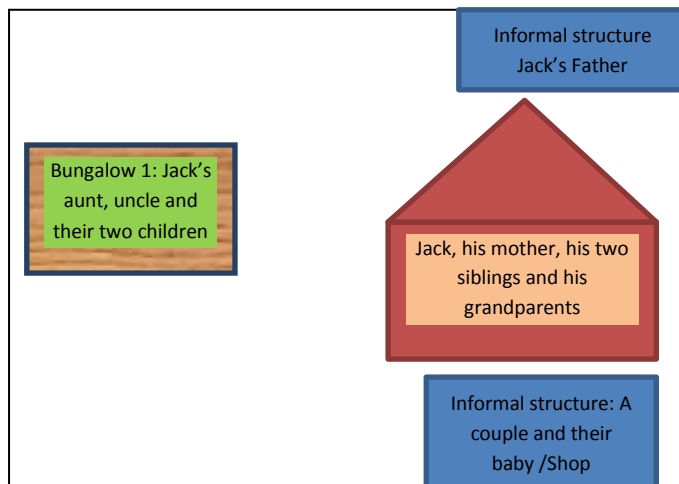


Figure 3: Jack's Home

Edward is eleven years old and in grade 6. He likes rugby and is an avid All Black supporter. He has an older sister who attends the local high school as well as a younger brother of three. They live with their parents in a bungalow on the property of his grandparents. His mother is a housewife and his father, the breadwinner of the family, is a mechanic. The main house is occupied by his grandparents and his aunt and uncle. His grandfather is a gardener at the hospital, his aunt works at the clinic and his uncle is employed at the mall.

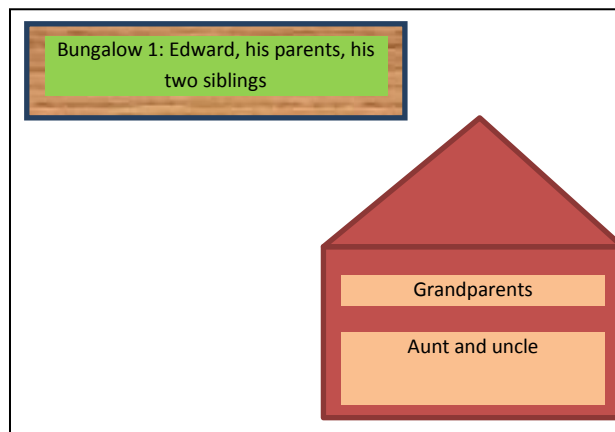


Figure 4: Edward's Home

Jerry is a grade seven learner who experiments with graffiti art. There are fifteen people living on Jerry's plot. His maternal grandmother shares the main house with his uncle and his godfather. There are two bungalows on the property. One is occupied by his aunt, her three children, and her eldest daughter's son. Jerry, his older sister, younger brother and parents live in the other bungalow. Except for his grandmother all the adults are employed. His father

installs solar panels and his mother works for the local municipality as a street sweeper. His godfather works as a cleaner at the local high school and his uncle works at the golf course situated close to Paradise Park. His aunt is employed at the shopping mall. However, Jerry only describes his father and the other adult men in the family as the breadwinners.

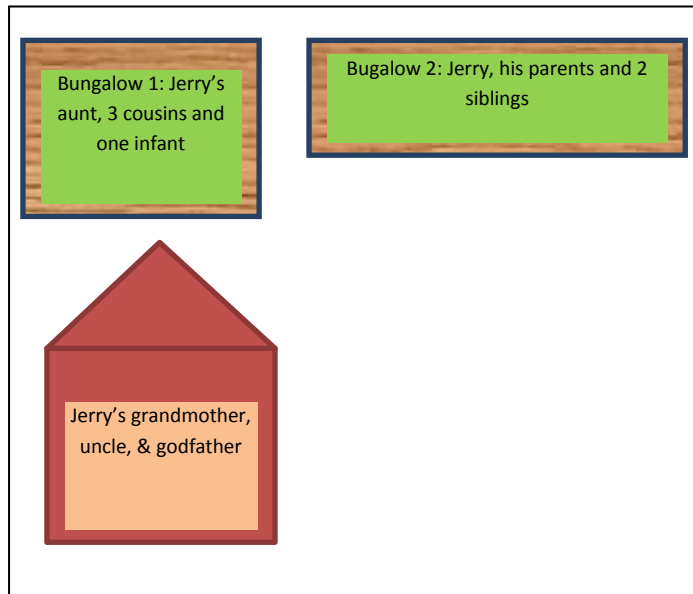


Figure 5: Jerry's home

Grant is the youngest participant in the group. He is ten years old and in grade five. He is Adam's brother and his family and living situation can thus be similarly described. However, he gives a more detailed description of his parents work by explaining that his mother takes care of older white people and that his father is unable to work when it rains. Grant identifies his father as the breadwinner, but simultaneously acknowledges his mother's contribution as she buys them clothes.

4.4 Understanding my world and where I grow up.

Adam uses the Afrikaans word, "*plekkie*", meaning small place, to describe Paradise Park. His description aptly captures the small stature of his community which is situated close to a railway station and boxed in between a national road, a grave yard, and a golf course. It is a small low socio-economic community amidst the wealth and luxuries of the Boland town that it is situated in. What separates the luscious green lawns of the golf course from the community is the rolled up barb wire. Although these grounds are not accessible to the people living in this community, they still have a clear view of the golfers when they are playing.



(Photo 1: Photos taken by Mike)

Through the fence at the back boundary of this community you are able to view the outstretched peacefulness of the graveyard, which is clean and well maintained by the municipality. Mike captured the serenity of the graveyard as well as the beautiful view of the mountains in photo 2 below.



(Photo 2: Photo taken by Mike)

However, most homes face a national road, which forms the third border. Photo 3 depicts Paradise Park's close proximity to the busy national road, where cars as well as heavy vehicles constantly pass the houses.



(Photo 3: Photo taken by Edward)

Sandwiched between the busy highway and the community is the only fenced-off open space for children to play. This has been developed as a playground by the municipality, and is the only open space in the township that is allocated as a play area and gathering spot for young people. During the research period I observed that play more often occurs on the streets, or on the street corners, than in the playground.



(Photo 4: Photos taken by Edward)

We used their photographs as stimuli to talk about what people in their community do. This became a difficult and painful exercise for some, as the analysis of their narratives shows. Mike uses the Afrikaans word, *lekker* [nice, fun], to describe his community and what boys do

in the community. However, this description of his community is challenged by both the textual and visual data that they provide on what happens in their community.



(Photo 5: Photo taken by Jerry)



(Photo 6: Photo taken by Edward)

In their interviews they talk about substance abuse, violence, theft and begging due to poverty, information that contradict a perception of a “nice” or “fun” community. Jack found it extremely difficult to talk about his community. During the interview he would later admit to feelings of shame about what happens there. He describes a community where people smoke illegal substances and who fight and argue over money and drugs. Jack gave examples of gangsters standing on street corners and pointed out the dangers that lurk when community members go to the shop. According to him, the possibility exists that “they might hurt you or take your money”. He admitted to it being painful to talk about the common occurrences of police raids on homes for illegal substances, and how he witnessed children being removed from their parents. During the interview Jack became visibly upset when he relayed the violence that accompanies these raids.

Jack: *Dis rof in daai plek juffrou.* [It is a rough place, Miss.]

Navorser: *Hoe is dit rof?* [How is it rough?]

Jack: *Die polisie raid daar. Dan skud hulle uit by die mense se plekke. Na jump hulle die mense se huise – Hardloop hulle mense se huise plat.* [The police raid there. Then they arrive and go through their possessions. They pounce on their homes – They trash their homes during the raids.]

Navorser: *Dan wat soek hulle?* [What are they looking for?]

Jack: *Soek hulle drugs juffrou. En klomp ander soort goed juffrou. Soek hulle by die mense se huise.* [They look for drugs, Miss. And a lot of other stuff, Miss. They look for it in these people’s homes].

Navorser: Is daar mense wat jy ken waar die polisie al so in hulle huise ingegaan het? [Do you know people whose homes have been raided by police?]

Jack: *Ja* [Yes].

It was evident that he had witnessed many such raids and was speaking too, from experience about the adults and their children being removed from the community. When I asked him how this made him feel, he stated:

Ek voel seer - voel sleg juffrou. As hulle die babas afvat van die mense, juffrou. Die ouer mense vat hulle weg juffrou. Dan sê hulle hulle (die ouers) is opgesluit. Dan kom hulle nie weer uit nie juffrou. [It hurts, Miss, and makes me feel bad when they take the babies away from the people, Miss. The older people come to take them away. Then they say that the parents have been locked up. Then they never get released, Miss.]

This theme from his interview data is supported by the three photographs below, which he took to talk about his community. They speak of a general exposure that the community children have to illegal trade in, and access to alcohol and drugs. They also refer to activities which may seem like aimless loitering by young males on street corners and community disorganization. These pictures were taken in and around his house during a midweek day. This female family member invited Jack to take this picture of her breastfeeding her baby in bed while also smoking a cigarette.



(Photo 7: Photos taken by Jack)

This image of the community is also depicted in the collages. From the discussions elicited from Mike and Edward's collages, it seems that substance abuse and substance induced violence is a regular occurrence, especially over weekends. All six participants described

Friday afternoons as synonymous with visits to the local shebeen and the abuse of alcohol by the community members. They also spoke about fights that break out when people are drunk. Adam refers to a *tokkelosie* which is a community street name for *tik*, or methamphetamine. All the participants possessed a wealth of knowledge of the symptoms that users display with when high on drugs, the ways in which to purchase these drugs, and the ways in which people obtain money for drugs. Their discussions as supported by the knowledge that they have, left the impression that they were speaking from experience as shaped by their personal community encounters.

Adam, Edward, Jerry and Grant explained that on a Saturday afternoon most of the community members watch the local rugby teams play on the field that is on the other side of the national road. During this time activities in their own communities quiet down substantially. They argue that it offers a temporary relief from the rowdiness of the intoxicated adults until they all return, and resume their drinking and spinning of cars.

The impact that unemployment, gangsterism and abuse has on vulnerable members of their families were reported on by Jerry. He was of the opinion that parents were negligent towards their children, which encourages a culture of begging among the younger children. Jerry blames it on the lack of knowledge that they have and their limited parenting skills. This lack of knowledge and culture of negligence is also evident in the way some pets are treated. In their community betting on dog fights is the norm, often resulting in the injury of these animals.

4.5 The people I stand in relation to.

In this section, I present the data that speaks about the people that influence their sense of self. First I will convey how they describe their parents. Then I will discuss those, other than their immediate families, whom they were asked to identify. These individuals are people whom they look up to, or admire. They also stated what the characteristics are that attracted them to such individuals.

4.5.1 Parents

The presence of a mother is evident in all the participants' lives. Adam, Jack, Edward and Grant indicated that their mothers are involved in disciplinning them. Although they highlight that their mothers expect them to obey the rules, they also indicate that their mothers have a softer side. Adam describes his mother as a good person and Jack refers to his mother as soft and quiet. Jerry only referred to his mother's softer qualities and described her as someone

who loves and cares for everyone. Mike, whose mother is a single parent and works very hard to support the family, had difficulty describing his mother. He could only say that she is not a rude person.

Adam, Grant, Edward and Jerry's parents are married and their fathers are a constant presence in their lives. Adam and Grant indicated that their father disciplines them, but he does not actively participate in activities such as going to church. Edward described his father as friendly and someone who helps others in need. Jerry indicated that his father cares because he provides money for the family. Mike and Jack's parents are not married, but their fathers live in close proximity of the family. Jack's relationship with his father is limited to the few occasions they watch television together, but do not speak. Although Mike's father does not provide financially for his children, Mike still describes him as a good person. None of the participants spoke negatively of their fathers.

4.5.2 Friends

Mike, Jack, Edward and Jerry indicated that their membership to a friendship group is dependent on their willingness to participate in similar activities. Most said that their friendships at school are formed around a mutual activity. However, the boys indicated that there are times when they just walk around together. Most of the boys are involved in group-play during break time, with the most popular game being touch rugby. Adam, who is physically unable to join in the game, says that he is a spectator when a group of boys play touch rugby. The leader of this group is the same boy Adam later indicated as a boy at school whom he admires.

When the boys were asked if there are boys at school whom they admire, most of them looked towards their immediate circle of friends. Adam, Mike and Grant indicated specific friends. However, Edward and Jerry could not identify a specific boy who aligned with their perception of how such a boy should act. The characteristics that they most admire in these boys are their generosity, and them believing in the participant's credibility. They were also being admired for obeying the educators and also being smart. Jack looked towards the prefects for role models and said that he wants to be like them. According to him they have the ability to help other children and they have the power to stop physical violence on the school grounds. Even though Edward and Jerry could not name any boy that they admire, they stated that they admire boys who are well-mannered and who also teach others these manners. They should also care for other children and should not revert to physical violence.

4.5.3 Teachers

All the participants attend the same primary school and were asked who their favourite teachers are and why. Out of a staff of twenty-four, six teachers were chosen: three males and three females. The teacher, who seemed to be most popular among them, was a female. She was selected for the enjoyment that the participants experienced of her classes and the way she interacts with the learners. Most of the participants referred to the classes of these six teachers being “lekker” and some even said that the teacher makes jokes. A characteristic that they said these popular teachers share is their ability to keep a disciplined environment in their classroom, without having to scold them. They like the six teachers because they speak to them in a decent manner and treat them gently. These teachers also display care and helpfulness towards the learners.

4.6 Who do I look up to?

One of the themes that were explored, and that came out in the interviews, as well as in their collage depictions of men was the type of man that they admire. In the interviews it became evident to me that this was a topic that needed a lot of explaining and probing. Four of the six participants did not know what a role model is. Even Jack and Grant, who indicated that they knew, did not fully understand the concept. Once they understood what was meant by a role model, they named people and figures that I grouped into the following categories: family, community, friends and famous personalities. Edward, Jerry and Grant only chose famous personalities as role models. Both Jerry and Grant were guided towards thinking of possible role models in the community or in their families.

Table 1 Role Models in their lives

Rolemodels	Adam	Mike	Jack	Edward	Jerry	Grant
Parents	Mother and Father	Mother		Father		
Sibling		Older brother	Older sister			
Friends		Friends	Friend			

			School Prefects			
Community Member	Whispers dance group		Neighbour			
Public Figure	President Zuma					
Sport Personality						Neil Basson
Famous Personality		Justin Bieber		Emo Adams, Leon Schuster, Steven Segal	Brian O'Connell, Steven Segal, Mamma Jack	Drake, Justin Bieber

When they chose family members as role models, the participant's motivation was that these family members engage in acts of helping and caring for others, especially pertaining to their siblings. For example, Mike said that his eldest brother is his role model because he helps him and his brothers with their homework. They return this act of kindness by helping him with tasks such as working in the garden. Jack admires his older sister for looking after their baby brother and protecting him. Examples he gave was that she prevents the baby from choking and protects him from harm. Adam, Mike, Jerry and Grant all named a parent as a role model. Adam mentioned both his mother and father for the caregiver role they fulfil in his life. Mike assigned this role to his mother. What was interesting was Jerry's reason for choosing his father as a role model. He admired his father for not getting involved in other people's disputes and for trying to intervene when people fight. Grant could not explain why he admired his father.

Role models within the community and within their circle of friends are chosen for very similar reasons. Properties such as caring, helping and acts of kindness are constantly present in their motivation for choosing these role models. Jack was the only participant who chose a

community member as a role model. He chose his backdoor neighbour who works at the municipality, for his help and because the man often empties out their trash for them. Role models amongst their friends are the ones who intervene when there are fights between children. This act of intervening is seen as an expression of how they care for others. People that they also admired were ones who were excelling in sport, education and entertainment.

The famous personalities are mostly chosen for the entertainment value of their trade. They include singers, actors, a rugby player, a mechanic, as well as the president of South Africa. The rugby player and the mechanic are admired for their skill. Singers and actors were chosen for the enjoyment of their music, their fashion sense, financial success as well as being funny. Actors who starred in movies where they play the role of the hero, who helps or rescues others through violent acts, are also admired.

Interestingly, President Jacob Zuma was also chosen on the basis of entertainment, rather than for his position of power. Adam enjoyed the anti-apartheid freedom song frequently sung by the president at gatherings of the African National Congress. Adam's visible enjoyment when singing the song is demonstrated in his imitation of the vibrant manner in which the president usually sings it on TV. Although Adam is Afrikaans speaking, he clearly knows the meaning, and that the song speaks of firearms and violence.

4.7 My ideas of being a man

One of the issues that I explored with the participants was their understandings of the roles men in society perform, the responsibilities that men take on and the characteristics men are defined by. From the data, there were various roles and responsibilities that the participants spoke about, as I will elaborate on next.

4.7.1 The man as lover, caretaker and provider

The participants' collages all show prevalence for images that depict loving and caring relationships between men and women. Their own views validate my analysis that the participants place value on the importance of a good relationship with one's partner. There seemed to be consensus that men should love their wives and be able to take care of them.



Collage 1: Jack's Collage



Collage 2: Mike's Collage

Mike was the only participant who raised the issue of conflict within the relationship. He felt that a man should not allow conflict to escalate into verbal and physical abuse of his wife. Mike and Jack stated that some men do not care for their wives. They argue that men can be rude and verbally abusive toward their wives and children. They also used the example of some men who refuse to help with household chores. Mike and Jack seemed to have an expanded knowledge of physical abuse of women, as they spoke about how men respond and act out when women refuse to engage in sexual intercourse with them. Though both their fathers live separate from the family, there is no evidence to suggest that they were referring to their own parents. What was evident was that these fathers do not actively participate in the parental responsibilities of fathers.

The importance of having a good relationship with one's children and between family members seemed to be important for Mike and Grant, who both included pictures showing a good relationship. Jack chose a cartoon illustration of a nuclear family, with a dog, and the heading "Happy Family". Grant included a picture of a father whom he explains is teaching his children. According to him, it illustrates the important role that the father has to guide and mentor. In their explanations, most of the participants focused on the responsibility of a man to work and provide for his children. Adam and Jerry specifically focused on the importance of parents working hard to afford a comfortable lifestyle.

During the interviews, all the participants, with the exception of Grant, focussed on the importance for men to work in order to provide and take care of their wives and children. Adam, Mike, Jack, and Jerry carried this theme through to their collages. Both Mike and Jerry use the word *moet* (must) to indicate that a man is obligated to care and provide for his family. What was interesting was that they equated the concept of work, as performing a very difficult task which includes a lot of physical labour such as construction and mechanical works. However, if one looks at the jobs that people in the community do, you realise that this blue collar community is the context that informs their understanding. Only Mike spoke about further education for men as preparation for finding work.

From the interview data the gaps within the relationships between fathers and sons become clear. For some of the participants their fathers are absent in their lives and the role of provider and caretaker falls on their mother or their grandparents. For others their father is physically present and tries to provide financially for his family, but there is no relationship with the children. However, Jack and Mike commented that fathers express their love in many different ways. Even when their fathers are not providing financially for their families, helping their children to construct things or even tattooing his child's name onto his body was offered as an indication of the love that men express for their children. Linked to a father's love for his children, was the love between a man and a woman. Mike defines the way a man expresses his love for a woman as taking the responsibility to marry her, nurture her, provide her with the basic necessities in life, and care for their children and by giving his heart to her.

When I asked them to reflect on why men in their lives struggle to fulfil their roles as fathers, Jack introduced criminality as the reason for men's inability to fulfil their role of husband and father. He argued that men's inability to fulfil their roles as spouses and fathers stems from a lack of knowledge, skills and opportunities. They then defer their attention to criminal activities, which they engage in "to put food on the table" for their families. The kind of skills that they said men need to possess to provide for their families, include a knowledge of construction, mechanics, transport, business and sales. Mike was the only participant who referred to the necessity to gain a tertiary education. The participants possessed a heightened awareness and concern about the difficulties that men experience and their own aspirations to responsibly care for a household. Adam, Mike and Jack all refer to the challenges men in their community face to find employment. Both Adam and Mike relate unemployment to an inability to find work. Jack challenged this perception by stating that those men do not search hard enough for work. According to him, they stay at home and shift the responsibility to care for the family onto their wives.

4.7.2 Men do not cry

Emotional and physical strength were claimed as a male characteristic by the participants. According to Adam and Mike, men should be big and strong, as it is the responsibility of men to protect their families and prevent them from getting hurt. Jerry stated that it is a male quality to be fearless and to persevere. All six boys held the very stereotypical view that it is a sign of weakness in men if they are sensitive or if they show pain. In Grant's response below, he expressed his own efforts to never show weakness, as follows:

Grant: *My brein juffrou. Hy sê moenie soos 'n moffie wees nie. 'n Man is nie so pap nie. Jy moet soos grootmense, groot kinders wees. Moenie so gou huil nie.* [My brain Miss. He says don't be a "moffie". A man is not this weak. You must be like grown-ups and grown children. Don't cry so easily].

Navorser: Ok. Nou waar het jou brein dit geleer? [Where did your brain learn that?]

Grant: *Ek weet nie juffrou.* [I don't know, Miss].

The theme of it being unmanly to show pain and be seen as a weakling is taken further by Jerry. According to him, a man's inability to mask pain can lead to relentless scrutiny about his manliness by the rest of the community. Men can be ridiculed or even sworn at, situations which some of the participants have already experienced themselves. Jerry's picture of an athlete in pain elicited a conversation about the importance of showing a high tolerance for pain, if you are a man. Jerry's collage contained a picture of an athlete lying on his back in pain. He explained that even when a man is tired, he should display the ability to handle pain.



Collage 3: Jerry's Collage

Adam, Mike, Grant and Jack had all chosen to include pictures of rugby players in their collages, as rugby is an integral part of the social activities within their community. In the discussions their great emphasis on physical strength carries through in their fascination with wrestling. Jack, Edward, Jerry and Grant, all used the names of wrestling champions as headings for their collages. They seem to be captivated by the strength, the speed and fighting techniques of these men. Although strength is seen by the participants as one of the core attributes of a man, they are quick to point out that this strength is not supposed to be used to harm women, rather it is to protect. The consensus view was that men are stronger than women and that it is their responsibility to ensure women's safety as well as that of the rest of the community.

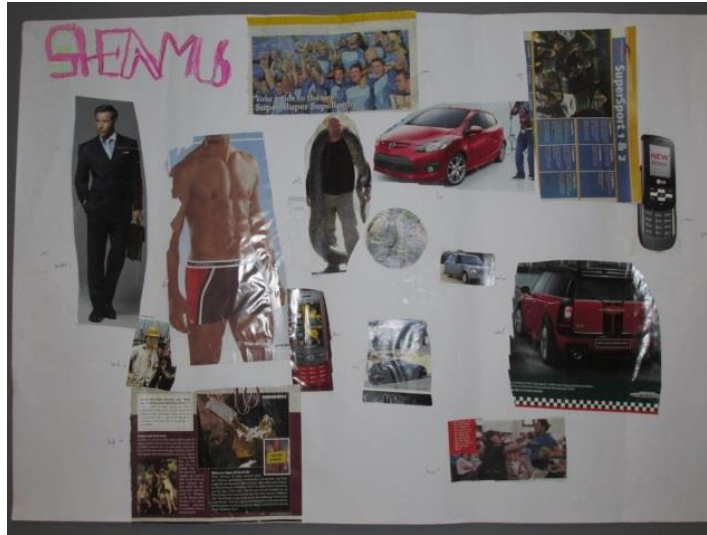
4.7.3 Values

The core values expressed by the participants as attributes of men are trust, respect and helpfulness, especially within their relationships with other men. According to the participants, men are able to show these characteristics by helping each other and by refraining from physical and verbal attacks. The participants also considered life skills, such as good listening skills, good manners, neatness and cleanliness to be important for men. All six participants touched on certain values they considered to be a part of the ethical code by which men should conduct themselves. These values included trustworthiness and respect within their relationships with other men. Mike explains that respect is displayed in the manner in which men help each other and abstains from physical or verbal confrontations. Respect is also shown in their manners. They value men who are polite and reserved. Jerry used the Afrikaans word "verseker" to express the need for men to be goal driven and to look presentable. Men also have to have a belief system, which the participants equated to involvement in the church and acceptance of religious practices. For Grant it was important that men live according to religious principles. This includes regular prayer, engaging with religious books and visiting places of worship. This characteristic, however seem to be talked about as a lifeline for men to rehabilitate themselves from difficulties such as substance abuse, anger outbursts and other destructive behaviour patterns. They seem to buy into a binary view of living a religious lifestyle as the opposite of living a destructive lifestyle characterised by violence, substance abuse and lack of responsibility.

4.7.4 Image of fit, fast, strong and agile

The ability to play sport, be fit, fast, strong and agile are characteristics that the participants associate with being male. All the participants identified sport as a male activity and this

became an overarching theme throughout this research. Although rugby is the main sport played by most of the male community members, the participant's exposure to sport includes cricket, soccer, swimming, athletics and golf. Their admiration for men who excel in all areas of sport, was evident in both how they talk about them, as well as in their depiction in their collages.



Collage 4: Grant's Collage

The participants also associated being male with engagement in adventurous activities. They seemed to have great admiration for men who travel throughout the African continent in 4x4 vehicles, who camp outside and feed themselves through hunting in the wild. Grant's collage shows a picture of a man carrying a snake around his neck. For him this is a clear sign of fearlessness.

4.7.5 Markings of manhood: tattoos, signals and signs.

A theme that strongly presented itself through the collages, and which I engaged the participants in discussion with afterwards, is the presence of gangsterism in their lives and the symbols associated with it. Jack refers to gangsters as “Gaza” and Adam wrote the acronym YMCMB which stands for “Young Money Cash Money Billionaire”, in reference to gangsters. The boys explained that this symbol, YMCMB, is displayed on clothing and represents a form of popular culture. According to the participants, the group represented by the acronym is associated with firearms and the use of drugs.



Collage 5: Adam's Collage

Some of the boys seemed to have a fascination with tattoos and what can be represented on a person's body through such markings. Jerry drew a man's head with a tattoo marking. The men that they choose for their collages often were marked with tattoos. This created the opportunity to engage the participants in conversation about tattoos and what they represent. I explored these markings and their acceptability for the participants. When talking about the person in his collage, Jack himself pointed out the tattoo on this person's body. When I asked him to explain the tattoo, he said that the man had his child's name tattooed on his body. He explained that it is because this man loves his child, that he did this. For Jack it is an expression of love, and evidence that the man cares about his child.

Jerry and so too some of the other participants showed a naïve admiration and justification for the males' association with signals that have negative meanings in society. They were selective in their interpretations of such signs and signals, as was the case with Jerry, who argued that the wrestlers in his collage could detach themselves from the true implications of these signs and the culture it is attached to. I asked Jerry about the hand sign that the wrestler in his collage is associated with. This specific sign has a satanic meaning. However, according to Jerry, that is not the meaning the wrestler intends to convey. Jerry interprets the sign as part of his image to be popular with women. He explains:

Ultimately, hy's 'n playboy. Hy's 'n playboy juffrou. Hulle gee hulle siel vir die duiwel. Maar hy is nie 'n illuminati nie, hy's 'n playboy [Ultimately he is a playboy.

He's a playboy, Miss. They give their soul to the devil. But he is not an illuminati, he is a playboy.]

In support of this perception, he pointed out that the wrestler has no tattoos, and thus is “clean”, meaning that he is living a clean life. Jerry also seemed to have a lot of knowledge about jail-gangs and the numbers associated with the functions of such gangs. According to this twelve year old participant, each number is an indication of the core mandate of the gang. He explained that some of their tasks involved violence and the ability to kill, as well as forced homosexual activity onto those whom the gang members offer to help or protect. These practices were affirmed by the rest of the group. Though I assumed that some of these knowledges tended to be sensationalised by the group as they did not want to appear naïve on the topic, I also did not want to ignore the possibility that the insights that a young individual like Jerry has, could be due to his exposure to such individuals.

4.7.6 Witnessing and living abuse and violence

The analysis of the data shows that all the participants are or have been exposed to substance abuse and the violence induced by it. During the interviews as well as during the discussions they refer to the availability of alcohol and drugs for purchase from certain homes within the community, and how it encourages the illegal use of substances by their community's members. So, for example, Edward and Mike report on rowdy and violent behaviours that they have witnessed and the intoxication of adults in these public displays. They report that fights are not only between men, but also between men and women, even women and women. Mike conveys an incident of a mother and a daughter acting out violently in the street.

Mike: *Dan skel hulle en baklei, daar by die bierwinkel juffrou.* [Then they argue and fight at the liquor store, miss.]

Researcher: *Dan waarom stry hulle?* [What do they argue about?]

Mike: *Dinges se ma haar met die pan geslaan het. 'n Knoptet.* [Somebody's mother hit her with a pan. She had a bump.]

These six participants have an extensive knowledge of the different types of alcohol as well as the colloquial names for the various street drugs. Adam and Jerry were able to explain in detail the effects these substances have on the users. They name some of the symptoms to be sleepiness, fear, silliness and aloofness, sexual risqué behaviour and the inability to be conscious of your surroundings and what is happening to you. Adam and Jerry are also aware

of the addictive grip these substances have on people. It is obvious from their insights that they might have had first-hand experience of family members selling off items and even stealing to provide for their habits.

When talking about the destructiveness of substance abuse in their community, they also joke about the constant intoxication of community adults and people's "silliness" when they lose control. When they relayed these stories, my impressions were that such situations place the participants in a position of power. They could joke with the intoxicated grown-ups or even benefit financially from the generous spirit these people show when intoxicated. It would seem that the participants welcome such opportunities, at times exploiting it.

However, it is also clear that these boys were concerned about the destructive effects of substance abuse. According to Mike and Edward, intoxication may place others in vulnerable positions. One of the dangers that Mike points out is that both men and women can be sexually exploited when they are intoxicated.

Dit maak jou dronk, dan doen jy enige iets.. Jy doen seks. Jy weet nie wat om jou aangaan nie. [It makes you drunk, then you do anything. You do sex. You don't know what is happening around you.]

Adam and Grant shared with the group that their father was a rehabilitated alcoholic. They seem to have faith that the only way to free people from these destructive patterns is through the help of religion.

4.7.7 My perception of justice and illegal activities

Present throughout all the participants' narratives, are their reference to illegal activities within the community. They talk about the availability of alcohol and drugs, as a normal occurrence. When I probed their positioning, I found that overwhelmingly, their sympathies seem to lie with the dealers and their families when law enforcement raids the homes of the suppliers. Similar to Jack, Edward expressed a very negative view of the police, as law enforcer and was sceptical about the objectivity and fairness of the police interventions. Edward expressed his confusion about why the police, according to him, target the foreigners selling products on the national road. He has observed that there is a specific unit of the police, the metro police, that he referred to as the "pizza boys" that is responsible for these operations. He finds it difficult to accept that the informal traders were engaging in illegal activities. He argued that the traders were not thieves; they were only selling to make a living.

He spoke about the cunning ways that the police use to arrest the informal traders, such as wearing civilian clothes and driving unmarked vehicles.

4.8 Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore these six young participants' concept of the construction of their own masculinity. I contextualised the participants' settings by providing my own perspective on their community and their living arrangements. Themes were identified from data collected through semi-structured interviews, collages and pictures taken by these participants. These themes were presented and discussed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5 I will further explore the themes in relation to supporting literature. I will conclude the findings of my study by indicating the limitations to my study and suggesting areas for further research.

CHAPTER 5

Findings and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter I will interpret the findings of the study, using the literature that was reviewed as a framework to explain these findings. For the study I explored six primary school boys' constructions of their male identity, and the influences on their constructions. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, collages and photographs. All the data was accounted for, and subjected to analysis. Through a process of both open and axial coding, recurring patterns were identified and linkages between these patterns were made (Patton, 1990, p. 144). The themes that emerged from the data were grouped together. My interpretation thereof will be discussed within the guidelines of an interpretive as well as a constructivist paradigm. The main categories found in this study were:

- The role of the context that they function in.
- The influence of the significant others in their lives.
- Their understandings of the male identity: The ideal versus their own reality.
- The search for a suitable masculinity.

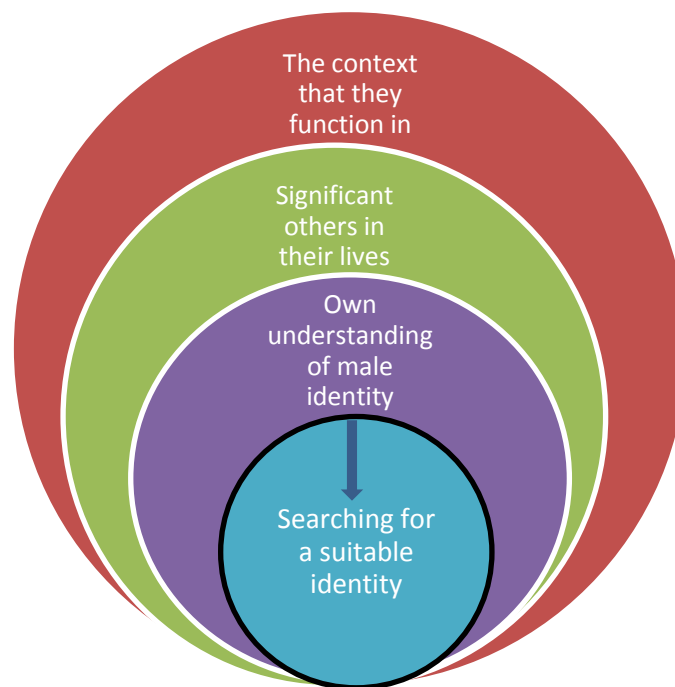


Diagram 1: Categories of the study

A discussion of the findings will be followed by recommendations for further research. I will conclude with my personal reflections on this research process.

5.2 The Research Findings

5.2.1 Context and space as an actor in this research

When I started this study, I anticipated that being an outsider, a female and an adult could limit my understanding of the life worlds of the six adolescent participants. In order to enhance my understanding of who they are and where they come from, I decided to spend time in their community and also visit each one's home. My visits to the community and each participant's home provided me with an invaluable insight into community life which added to my understanding of what it is like living in their small, over-populated community, and facilitated my interpretation of the data. Seeing their living arrangements and witnessing neighbourhood activities added data that served to validate data that was collected through their semi-structured interviews, collages and photographs.

Throughout the research study the lack of physical space was difficult to ignore as it imposed on most issues that were reported on. The lack of living space, both personal and communal, is a direct consequence of this community's long plight for land. The land restriction that the city planners subjected this coloured community to, resulted in multiple families living together on single plots, and the normalisation of shared living spaces, between families, extended families, and tenants. These living arrangements challenge an understanding of the traditional nuclear family as the norm for urban living, as every family from this community share their immediate living space with at least two other families. Their limited home space definitely contributes to the lack of family privacy. According to Morrell (2001), when researching the South African context, one cannot divorce your research from the effects of the racial and the economic ordering of apartheid.

In Paradise Park there is only one small open space on which a play park has been constructed. Other than that, there are no open plots that the community can utilise for recreation purposes. This is validated by my observations that the community's people are flowing over into the streets. The children seem to revert to the only option available to them if they want to engage in sporting activities. They organise their own informal games, which is mostly played in the street. Although Messner (1990) and Connell (2008) both address the role of sport and physical education in the construction of male identity in young boys, organised sport within this area is restricted to rugby. Rugby seemed to be the preferred sport

to engage in for males from this community. Though a golf course is on the community's doorstep, it is highly unlikely that its adults will have the financial resources to participate in the sport.

The data also provides evidence of poverty and unemployment in their community. From their data, a culture of shared financial responsibility emerges for most families. The extended family, who reside together, all share in that load. The data for the participants, however, shows that mostly their mothers, instead of their fathers, are financially contributing members of the family. In circumstances where the father is absent or unemployed, the bulk of the responsibility falls on the mother. These females work and look towards their parents, or children of legally working age, for help. For example, Jerry's mother is unemployed and the family is financially taken care of by his maternal grandparents. Mike's mother is the breadwinner of the family, with his brother also supporting the family through his vegetable stall. The lack of financial support from fathers is consistent with research done by Madhavan, Richter, Norris and Hosegood (2014) on the father's financial support of children in low income communities in South Africa. They found the effect of kin involvement intriguing, and argued that as it might be possible that having access to family who provide financial support may be a disincentive for fathers to provide financial support for their children.

A culture of substance abuse and substance induced violence is something the participants of this study are frequently exposed to. They all possess extensive knowledge of drugs and the culture that surrounds it. From the data it is clear that gangs are present in the lives of the research participants. It also speaks of violence on the streets. The participants' narratives sketch a picture of a disorganized community where intoxication and abuse is the norm. Men are the main actors of these scenarios. Because of the normalization of these behaviours it adds to the confusion these boys experience within their own perceptions of their community. Their descriptions of their community vary from an immediate positive response by Mike to feelings of shame and hurtfulness by Jerry. This broad spectrum continuum is indicative of many extremes they experience within their world. It creates a sphere of contradictions which ultimately results in acceptance of what they are exposed to in their community on a daily basis.

5.2.2 The influence of the significant others that cross their paths

Ampofo and Boateng (2007) emphasize the important role played by people within the immediate living space of boys. Even if these people are not formal role models, they are part

of the world that these boys navigate on a daily basis and people that they come in contact with, albeit directly or incidentally. These actors influence them through being a part of their every-day experiences.

There is a secure presence of a mother in all of the participants' lives. They speak lovingly and respectfully of their mothers. They acknowledge the contributions their mothers make to the family, whether financially or doing household chores. Adam, Grant, Mike and Jerry's mothers work full-time and although they don't have extensive knowledge of what their mothers do, they are very aware of their mothers' contributions to their wellbeing.

In contrast to a present mother, the father-figure is not a constant in the participants' lives. Adam, Grant and Edward have fathers who are present in their lives and who work to support their families. However, not one of them is able to provide their families with their own home, as their families continue living in bungalows. None of the boys seem to have close relationships with their fathers, nor do they speak of activities they do with their father. My data analysis shows an absence of an interactive relationship between fathers and sons, a situation that could be owing to fathers not living with their children's mothers. Jack's father lives separately from the family on the same property, but father and son rarely have a conversation. Mike's father does not live with them either, though he sees his father's effort to come and greet them in the morning, as an attempt to build a relationship.

Morrell and Richter (2006) address this lack of relationship by stating that most South African men do not seem especially interested in their children. They argue that "they don't always acknowledge that their children are their own, and they frequently fail to participate in their children's lives" (2006, p. 2). However, Ratele, Shefer and Clowes (2012) caution us of studies which perpetuate the idea of normative western nuclear families, and devalue non-normative models of "doing" families, such as experienced by many African communities. They encourage us to take a greater look at the role of social fathers and other significant male role models who step in at different times in the participants' lives when their biological fathers are not available. This research study did however, not provide evidence of such social fathers or other father figures in the participants' lives.

The participants seem to place greater emphasis on the value of the relationships they have with their peers. Although Grant indicated that a specific criterion to belong to their group of friends was not necessary, with further probing it became evident that it is important to all of the participants that boys in their group are well behaved and conduct themselves in a respectful manner. They indicated that behaviour such as rudeness, mocking, swearing,

fighting and stealing, was unacceptable and would not allow you access to their group. My probes could not produce evidence of a hierarchical structure within their peer group. Instead, the data speaks of equality and cohesion within the peer group.

The same theme of equality and respectful treatment by, and of others, is carried over into their relationship with their teachers. They stated that they like the teachers who are firm, but gentle and also have a sense of humour. However, there were only six teachers that they named at their school, which had these qualities. From what the data shows, the participants want to be associated with people who respect them and others. They are drawn towards people who believe in their trustworthiness and potential, and who acknowledges and values them as human beings.

Though the participants are very clear about the characteristics that they value in people that they want to associate with, and what attracts them to these people, there is a clear contradiction when it comes to role models outside of their immediate environment. When identifying role models within the public domain, none of the characteristics which are evidently important to them, were attributes that these personalities necessarily projects. There seem to be a gap in their ability to transfer these characteristics to people who are further removed from them. They seem to focus more on popularity, skill, entertainment, strength and power, as the role models they identified included a rugby player, pop artists, actors in action movies, and a wrestler. When Adam was asked why he chose the president of the country as a role model, I did not receive an answer that referred to his leadership abilities. Instead Adam said that he liked the song the president sings. In other words, he chooses him for his entertainment value.

5.2.3 Shaping the male identity: The ideal versus their reality

In general, many, if not all, of the roles and characteristics of males, as described by the boys, are admirable qualities. They had very clear views on what appropriate behaviour for men ought to be. They speak of the man as being a provider, and a loving husband and father. He is described as being physically strong, fast and healthy and adhering to a sound value system.

However, their views represent the ideal, as it contradicts what they are experiencing in their reality. The undisputed role of the man as provider in their data is being challenged by the high prevalence of unemployment amongst men and their inability to take on the financial responsibility for the family. Although all of the participants agreed that men should support their wives and children, some of the participant's fathers are not able to do so, making their

mothers having to take on the primary breadwinner role in the family. They speak of loving and interactive relationships between fathers and their children, though within their own reality, this is not happening. They speak of loving relationships between husbands and wives, but none tied it to their parents. Although there were no data provided that points to domestic violence within their own homes, there is data that speaks about their exposure to it within the community.

The boys are confronted with many examples of males in their community who are not providing for their families, and they daily see substances such as alcohol and drugs being abused by adult members of their community. These are all influences that help shape their own masculinity. When boys from the community share in the feelings of disempowerment that men experience, it could encourage the extensive emphasis that is then placed on strength and physical abilities. Although they associate power with the role to protect, when they refer to the use of male strength in their community, the only examples in their community are almost always associated with violence, abuse and harm. Violent encounters involving men are also portrayed as entertaining and captivating, as in the song that president Zuma sings about the gun. Furthermore, any sign of fear or pain by boys and men is considered a weakness in their make-up. This is another contradiction of the core value system these boys expect men to have, which includes respect for others and refraining from physical and verbal confrontations.

In the participants' collage depictions the researcher is confronted with how the boys see men. Using popular culture to interpret their reality, they talk about expressions of love and care in new and unconventional ways. According to the participants, men use tattoos and gestures as forms of expression for what they are unable to accomplish within their given circumstances. One such form of expression is tattooing their child's name onto their body as a sign of love. However, it becomes difficult for boys to distinguish between negative and positive connotations of these symbolic ways of communicating, as their conversations around these symbols include those which are associated with satanic rituals and gang cultures.

These boys all had an extensive knowledge of gang culture. This could be due to gangsterism being the dominant form of masculinity within the structure of traditional community life for the boys. The participants function in a community where the structure of the gang creates a hierarchy within which men can aspire to achieve certain levels of dominance and power. If compared with their disorganised community, the gang has clearly defined systems, with rules and regulations and where the power relations are perceived as legitimate and admirable.

5.2.4 Searching for a suitable male identity

The themes arising from the data presents a contrast between the experiences of the participants and the kind of men they seek to be. They would like to be employed when grown up, and be able to provide and care for their families. They aspire to be the kind of men who are respected and who shows respect and helpfulness towards others. Similar to the young men in Gibbs, Sikweyiya and Jewkes's (2014) research these boys are aware that the traditional form of masculinity is aspirational, but something that men within their community struggle to achieve.

The study's findings suggest that the participants see disempowerment of the men as being due to their inability to perform the roles that are traditionally expected of him. The men that they know are unlikely to be models of the traditional or normative type of masculinity. Consequentially, the participants align themselves more with a complicit form of masculinity such as described by Kahn (2009). In Paradise Park there is an absence of positive role models, men who model an acceptable form of masculinity which is in line with the ideals these boys aspire to. In the community there are no men who could help them to achieve these ideals and provide them with guidance or support. In the absence of suitable male role models to emulate, these boys are likely to comply with a model of masculinity that demonstrated dominance and power through violence and abuse.

5.3 Summary



Photo 8: Barbed wired fence

I use the picture that Mike took of the golf course as an analogy for the ideal form of masculinity that the boys aspire to. The golf course symbolises the ideal form of male identity

that the participants know exists. However, they are caught up on the other side of the fence, behind the barbed wire, within a cloud of chaos and confusions. The barbed wired fence signifies how that confusion keeps them within the sphere of what they know. It may result in them ultimately complying with the familiar, the behaviour they see modelled within their own environment. Without intervention, these boys may eventually give up on the thoughts of achieving that which is represented on the other side. They potentially will comply and become like the men that they observe within their community every day. This aligns itself with the following statement by Ratele (2013, p. 145): “Men learn about masculinity by being addressed by others, by comparing themselves with others, and by comparing themselves with an image of themselves at an earlier point in their lives.”

5.4 Recommendations for further research

When I undertook this study I realised that there are limited research available on male identity within the coloured communities of South Africa. The effect of the apartheid government legislation, and segregation on the context of these communities and the culture of coping that many are caught up in, requires further research. The participants are part of a vulnerable community and their identities are interlinked with the socio-economic hardships that are part of such communities make-up. There is a need for further research on the vulnerability of males within such South African communities, as well as the ways in which to deal with those vulnerabilities in men.

The study was delimited to six primary school boys within a specific low socio-economic community. A duplication of this study in other communities may provide us with a more detailed perspective on how primary school boys construct their male identity.

The study had as focus the participants’ constructions of their male identity. Research on the type of support and guidance boys need in order to achieve the ideal characteristics they aspire to, is recommended. Participatory action research might be helpful in getting them to become empowered by the knowledge gained from the process.

This study revealed the prevalence of female-headed households and the relationships that boys have with their mothers in such households. Further research is needed that could inform us about the influence of mothers, especially single mothers in low socio-economic communities, on the construction of their son’s male identity.

The limited scope of the 50% thesis did not allow for an exploration of the relationship between the boys and their fathers. A further exploration on the relationship between fathers and sons in low socio-economic communities is recommended.

A challenge in this research study was the use of disposable cameras to collect data. It created an awareness of the lack of access to digital imagery when doing research in low socio-economic communities. It also led to further questions on if these technological tools were available, how the researcher would ensure anonymity and prevent postings on social media sites. Similar to Daniels (2008) it has created an awareness and concern for ethics when using visual tools, and lends itself to further research.

The inability of the boys to identify male role models in their community was cause for concern. Ratele, Shefer and Clowes (2012) urge us to explore the role of social fathers or fatherhood figures, other than the biological father. However, in the absence of such fatherhood figures and a lack of non-formal education from the community, the school's role in educating children about admirable characteristics to develop, and adopt, is needed. A study to explore the current life orientation curriculum and methods how to incorporate such programmes as part of the curriculum could be undertaken.

Alternative forms of emotional expression by men, is also a topic for further research. Finally, similar to Sylvester (2010) I want to recommend that further research is needed on the role of gangs in shaping masculinity especially in communities where there is an absence of a suitable ruling masculinity.

5.5 Personal Reflections

This has been a long and insightful journey for me, and I feel extremely grateful towards the six participants for allowing me into their worlds. They shared generously of their experiences and views and there were times when they were competing with the others for a chance to tell their stories and share experiences with me. As an adult, and a former primary school teacher I was always aware of the power that I have over the participants as minors. It made me much more reflective as well as cautious to not use my position as researcher to influence their opinions.

The study confronted the boys with questions of themselves, their families and friends, as well as their communities, some of which were painful for some. This was sometimes a difficult process, as I experienced with Jack, for whom it was evidently difficult to talk about the shame he felt for his community. I could hear the hurt in his voice and knew that he was

reflecting on community experiences that might have been painful for him. My empathetic stance during the research made it easy for me to build rapport with the participants and to visit families such as Jack's again after the data was collected. The follow-up visits were to speak to him and his mother, and to make sure that he was fine.

I only realised the idealism in my own decision to gather three forms of data, when I started the process of analysis. The data was rich and revealed a lot more than I would have known had I only relied on one form of data collection, i.e. through the semi-structured interviews. As researcher I was not left untouched by the experience. There were times when I had to guard against showing an emotional reaction to some of the pictures that the boys shared with me. The photos allowed me to see what these adolescent boys are exposed to in their community, on a daily basis, and were at times shocking.

Using visual tools in research was a new and exciting method to explore. I was very privileged to have a supervisor who has written extensively on the use of this medium, guiding me and creating a consciousness on the ethical considerations, especially when working with children and other vulnerable populations. However, I was not prepared for the constraints experienced due to old technology and an inability to access more modern technology. The participants did not have access to any form of digital imaging and found it difficult to understand the workings of the disposable cameras given to them. I do believe that an even richer photo essay narrative was possible, had we not had the challenges and limitations that the disposable cameras presented. I also became aware of the significant contribution of visual data gathering methods, as I discovered throughout the interviewing process how limited the boys' vocabulary were and how often I had to probe in order to get a richer understanding of what they were trying to convey.

Finally, as an educator and a person who shares the same racial classification as the participants, as well as someone who used to live close to this community, I found myself reflecting on the role that people like myself could play in guiding boys, similar to the ones participating in this study, towards the construction of a healthy male identity.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide: An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys.

A: Background Information:

1. Personal information:

Information on the participants name, age and grade will be sourced.

To help break the ice before we move to the interview, I will ask about the participant's likes and dislikes.

2. Next I am going to ask you questions about your family, if that is fine with you?

I would like to ask you about how many people there are in your family. (I will list the members. This will give me an indication of who all the family members are, if both parents are present in the family and whether or not there is a father in the family).

Does your family live on its own? (This is to determine whether there are more than one household sharing a house or if there are other families living on the same plot). If not, tell me about the other family members or people who live with you.

Let's talk about the different roles in your family. People have different roles, which mean that they do different things or have different tasks to fulfill. Starting

with your parents or elders, what does everybody in your family do in the house?
(Probe to determine what the participant's role in the household is)

Do you know what a breadwinner is? (Explain if participant does not know). Who do you think is the breadwinner in your household? (If it is a female-headed household, I will probe about the father's whereabouts and the presence of the father in the participant's life)

How would you describe your mother? And your father? (I will use my discretion as whether to include both parents in the question. I would have gotten an indication of the presence of the each parent in the participant's life from previous information.)

3. Next I want you to think a little about the community you live in.

Now if you were to tell someone who does not know your community at all, about your community, what would you tell them?

If I were to walk in your community between 17:00 and 18:00 in the afternoon, what would I see and hear people doing? Can you describe it to me? (Here I will probe about what specifically the men are doing. I will ask them to explain what they mean and to give examples of what is being said and done and by whom)

And if I were to take that same walk on a Friday afternoon, what would I see? (Again I will probe about the actions of men and women)

This question will also be repeated to include Saturday afternoon.

4. Now I want to ask you more about your school:

Who is your favourite teacher? (If a male teacher is named, then I will probe as to why the person is the favourite teacher.) If no male teacher is mentioned I will ask if there is a male teacher in the school that the boy looks up to. Why?

Are there boys in the school whom you admire? (I will probe as to what the outstanding characteristic are of these boys and why the participant admires them)

5. Friendships:

Now if I were to observe you at school, who will I see you with? What will you be doing?

And over the weekends? What will I see you doing and who will you be doing this with? (Probe to determine who the participants friends are and what they do together)

What do boys need to do to be part of your group of friends?

Are there certain activities or signs that define your group?

What kind of behaviour is not accepted in your group?

B: Role models

Do you know what a role model is? (Explain this to the participant) Well, most people have a role model. When I was your age, I had(name).... as mine. It can be people you know as well as people you've only read about or seen on television. Can you name three people that you consider to be role models for you?

(I will write down each name and ask about why that person was chosen)

If the above names do not include people from the participant's family, community or school environment, I will ask if there is any person in these environments whom he considers to be a role model and why.

C: Let's talk about the roles that you think, defines a male.

Firstly I would like to know what makes you a man?

Are there specific roles for boys in your community? And for men?

How do you think a man should act? What should he do? (I will probe as to how his response fits in with the men he knows within his family, community or school environment)

Which of the qualities that you see in men, would you like to take on for yourself? (probe as to why)

Are there certain things about being a boy or a man that you wish you could change?

What are the challenges that men experience these days?

APPENDIX B

PERMISSION FROM THE Western Cape EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Audrey.wyngaard2@pgwc.gov.za

Tel: +27 021 467 9272

Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20120921-0060

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Miss Gaynor Benjamin
Department of Educational Psychology
Stellenbosch University

Dear Miss Gaynor Benjamin

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: AN EXPLORATION OF MALE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AMONG PRIMARY SCHOOL BOYS

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Approval for projects should be conveyed to the District Director of the schools where the project will be conducted.
5. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
6. The Study is to be conducted from **21 September 2012 till 28 September 2012**
7. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).

8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
9. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
10. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
11. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
12. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

**The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

for: **HEAD: EDUCATION DATE: 21 September 2012**

APPENDIX C

PERMISSION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

Approval Notice New Application

31-May-2012
Benjamin, Gaynor GJ

Protocol #: DESC11/2012

Title: An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys

Dear Miss Gaynor Benjamin,

The **New Application** received on **23-Mar-2012**, was reviewed by Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities) via Committee Review procedures on **02-Apr-2012** and has been approved.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

Protocol Approval Period: **26-Apr-2012 -25-Apr-2013**

Present Committee Members:

Fouche, Magdalena MG
Van Wyk, Berte B
Mostert, Paul PJ
Hansen, Leonard LD
De Villiers, Mare MRH
Hattingh, Johannes JP
Theron, Carl CC
Somhlaba, Ncebazakhe NZ
Bitzer, Elias EM
Engelbrecht, Sidney SF
Van Zyl, Gerhard G

Standard provisions

1. The researcher will remain within the procedures and protocols indicated in the proposal, particularly in terms of any undertakings made in terms of the confidentiality of the information gathered.
2. The research will again be submitted for ethical clearance if there is any substantial departure from the existing proposal.
3. The researcher will remain within the parameters of any applicable national legislation, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of research.
4. The researcher will consider and implement the foregoing suggestions to lower the ethical risk associated with the research.

You may commence with your research with strict adherence to the abovementioned provisions and stipulations.

Please remember to use your **protocol number (DESC11/2012)** on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research protocol.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

After Ethical Review:

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required.

The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) number REC-050411-032.

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki, the South African Medical Research Council Guidelines as well as the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health).

Provincial and City of Cape Town Approval

Please note that for research at a primary or secondary healthcare facility permission must be obtained from the relevant authorities (Western Cape Department of Health and/or City Health) to conduct the research as stated in the protocol. Contact persons are Ms Claudette Abrahams at Western Cape Department of Health (healthres@pgwc.gov.za Tel: +27 21 483 9907) and Dr Helene Visser at City Health (Helene.Visser@capetown.gov.za Tel: +27 21 400 3981). Research that will be conducted at any tertiary academic institution requires approval from the relevant parties. For approvals from the Western Cape Education Department, contact **Protocol #: DESC11/2012 Title: An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys.** Protocol Approval Period: **26-Apr-2012 -25-Apr-2013** Dr AT Wyngaard (awynjaar@pgwc.gov.za, Tel: 0214769272, Fax: 0865902282, <http://wced.wcape.gov.za>).

Institutional permission from academic institutions for students, staff & alumni. This institutional permission should be obtained before submitting an application for ethics clearance to the REC.

Please note that informed consent from participants can only be obtained after ethics approval has been granted. It is your responsibility as researcher to keep signed informed consent forms for inspection for the duration of the research.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 0218089183.

Included Documents:

DESC FORM

DESC RECOMMENDATION

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Sincerely,

Sidney Engelbrecht

REC Coordinator

Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

APPENDIX D

Consent to participate in Research

An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys

Dear _____

Your son/ward has been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Gaynor Benjamin from the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. The findings of this study will contribute to the fulfillment of a thesis that is part of the M Ed Psych degree.

This study aims to explore how primary school boys construct their male identity and what the influences are that impacts on this constructed identity.

If your child agrees to participate in this study, I will conduct a semi-structured interview to explore the topic. I will also ask them to make a collage and to watch various television commercials, from which a discussion will be generated. In order to do these activities I will meet with your child twice, over a period of two weeks. Each meeting will be approximately 50 minutes long. All meetings will take place at the school, and it will be scheduled at a time that does not interfere with your child's schoolwork.

I will provide a safe environment for your child to discuss his ideas and thoughts on the topic. Thus, there are no potential risks or discomforts foreseen for your child if he is to participate in the study. If however, they do experience any discomfort during this research process, they are free to withdraw from the study at any given time.

The research activities aim to facilitate opportunities for the boys to explore their own understandings about masculinity and raise their that awareness of the influences impacting on these ideas. Hopefully it will assist them to become more critical towards what and how their ideas are constructed.

The information gathered in this research will remain confidential and will only be disclosed with your permission or as required by law. Your child's identity will be kept confidential by providing a pseudonym instead of his name. All the data collected during interviews and activities will be stored electronically and only I, the researcher, as well as my supervisor at the university, will have access to the information. The interviews will be audio recorded. Once the data has been analyzed and interpreted, the conclusions of this research will be released as for the purpose of completing the researcher's thesis as part of the completion of the MEdPsych degree. With publication of the thesis, your child's identity will still be kept confidential and the pseudonym will be used.

Informed consent is required from parents/guardians if your child is to participate in this research. Should you agree to your child's participation, please sign the attached consent form. Your child, however, can only participate if he is willing to do so. Therefore he needs to sign the assent form attached to this document. I have explained the study to him as well as the risks and benefits of the study. Please remember that your child may withdraw from the study, or refuse to answer any questions with which he is uncomfortable, without any consequences.

Your son's participation in this study will be a valuable contribution in helping to generate data, which might inform future programmes on this topic.

If you have any questions or queries regarding the study, please feel free to contact me at the details provided below.

Kind Regards

Gaynor Benjamin

(MEdPSych student University of Stellenbosch)

Cellphone:

E-mail:

CONSENT FORM

Consent from parents/guardians is kindly requested in order for your son to participate in the research study.

Parent/Guardian

I, mother/father/legal guardian of
..... hereby verify that I have read the attached letter and
having fully understood its contents give my permission for my son to participate in the
research conducted by Miss G Benjamin.

.....
.....

Signature of parent/guardian

Date

APPENDIX E

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

	STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET AND ASSENT FORM



TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

An exploration of male identity construction amongst primary school boys

RESEARCHERS NAME: Miss Gaynor Benjamin

CONTACT NUMBER:

E-MAIL ADDRESS:

What is this research project all about?

This research project seeks to understand the influences in one's environment that help shape how you think about your gender and who you are. In your case it would be how you think about being a male.

Why have I been invited to take part in this research project?

You have been invited because you are a boy between the ages of 10 and 13 years old.

Who is doing the research?

My name is Gaynor Benjamin. I am a student at the University of Stellenbosch. I am doing this research as part of my Master's studies to become an Educational Psychologist.

What will happen to me in this study?

Firstly, I would want to interview you on the topic. You would also engage in an activity that involves making a collage. Finally I will show you various television commercials, which will be followed by a discussion on what we saw. This requires that we will meet twice over a period of two weeks, for approximately 50 minutes long.

Can anything bad happen to me?

No. You will be in a safe environment at all times, and I do not foresee any potential harm to you. If however, at any stage during the research you do feel uncomfortable, you are free to withdraw from the study. You can also inform me, your parents, or any other adult as to why you feel uncomfortable.

Can anything good happen to me?

Yes. You could learn about yourself and how you make decisions about life. This will help you to look more critically at the things around you which influence your life.

Will anyone know I am in the study?

No. The information gathered will be kept confidential. That means that only I, the researcher, and my supervisor (almost like my teacher) will be able to see it. Later everything we found out will be published in a book, called a thesis. At all times, even in this book, we will protect your identity by giving you a different name. This way people will not know that it is you.



Who can I talk to about the study?

You are free to talk to me, or your parents about the research.

What if I do not want to do this?

You have the right to refuse to be a part of the study, even if your parents agreed and signed the consent form. You also have the right to withdraw from the study at any given time, without any consequences.

Do you understand this research study and are you willing to take part in it?

☐ YES☐ NO

Has the researcher answered all your questions?

☐ YES☐ NO

Do you understand that you can pull out of the study at any time?

☐ YES☐ NO

Signature of Child

Date

APPENDIX F

Examples of open ended coding: Semi-structured interviews

Colours and themes used in coding process:

Markings of manhood: Tattoos, Signals and Signs

Substance abuse and violence

Caretaker and Provider

Values

Activities

Strength and Protection

Justice and Illegal Activities

Roles that you think defines a male

a. Roles and characteristics which defines men/boys

1	2	3	4	5	6
N: Nou kom ons by die laaste deel vragies. Sê gou vir juffrou wat is dit wat vir jou 'n seuntjie maak?	N: Nou kom ons kyk na wat is die rolle van 'n man. Juf wil weet wat dink jy eerstens wat maak vir jou 'n seun? Hoe is dit om 'n seun te	N: Nou wil juffrou gou by jou weet wat dink jy beteken dit om 'n seun te wees? (stilte) N: Hmm? D: Om om te gee vir ander	N: Weet jy nie. Ok. Dis in die haak. Nou kom ons praat nou or die rolle wat 'n man definieer. Wat sê ons van wat mans doen en hoe hulle is. Wat dink	N: Ok. Nou die laaste deel gaan juffrou met jou praat oor wat beteken dit om 'n man te wees, nê. N: Ok. Nou eerstens as juffrou vir jou kan vra	N: Nou wil juffrou die laaste deel van die vrae vir jou vra. Haal 'n bietjie asem. Relax gou jou skouertjies so. Ok. Ons is amper klaar, nê. Juffrou wil vra. Wat dink jy. Wat maak vir jou 'n man. D: My hart

te wees. So jy lekker jou kan geniet juffrou. Ja. N: En wat sou jy sê. Hoe is dit om 'n man te wees? D: Dis lekker om groot en sterk te wees. N: As 'n mens groot is dan is 'n mens 'n man? D: Ja N: waste rolle. Kyk ons het gepraat van rolle. Onthou jy? Wat mense doen. D: Ja N: Nou wat sou jy sê.	wees? D: Lekker N: Wat doen seuns? D: Hulle baklei. Hulle speel rugby. Hulle kan gym. Gebou wees. N: Hulle kan sterk wees? D: Ek weet nie verder nie juffrou. N: Ok. Jy het nou vir my gesê hulle kan lekker gym dat hulle spiere kry. Hulle kan rugby speel en hulle kan baklei. Nou wanneer	juffrou. N: Om om te gee vir and D: Om nie onbeskof te wees nie juffrou. Om te luister juffrou. N: Juffrou hoor jy sê vir my hoe jy graag wil hê 'n seun moet wees. D: Ja juffrou. N: Maar nou vra juffrou wat maak van jou 'n seun. D: Om om te gee vir ander juffrou. N: Maak dit van jou 'n seun? D: Ja	jy is die karaktertrek ke van 'n man? Hoe is 'n man? D: Hy's goed. Hy kyk om na sy familie. Hy gee vir sy familie geld en hy moet maniere hê ook. N: ok. So 'n man het maniere. Hy gee om vir sy familie. Hy werk hard en gee vir sy familie geld. Wat nog? D: En hy moet baie werk vir sy familie. Hy moet kyk dat die familie nie seerkry nie.	wat sou jy sê beteken dit om 'n man te wees. Wat is die karaktertrekk e van 'n man. D: 'n Man moenie vroumense slaan nie juffrou. N: Ok. So wat beteken dit? 'n Man moet wat? D: 'n Man moet vir 'n vrou sorg. N: Ok, so 'n man moet sorg vir 'n vrou en wat nog? D: 'n Man moet hard werk vir sy kinders. N: Ok. So 'n man moet sorg en hard werk vir sy	N: hmmm? D: My hart N: Jou hart. Wat van jou hart D: My brein juffrou. Hy sê moenie soos 'n moffie wees nie. 'n Man is nie so pap nie. Jy moet soos grootmense, groot kinders wees. Moenie so gou huil nie. N: Ok. Nou waar het jou brein dit geleer? D: Ek weet nie juffrou. N: Ok. Nou as jy nou bietjie ongelukkig voel en jy wil nou huil, dan wat doen jy? D: Dan huil ek juffrou. N: En dan? D: Maar ek huil nie hard nie. N: Net so saggies.
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Wat doen seuns?	baklei hulle?	juffrou. Jy moet deel ook juffrou. En praat oom met hulle juffrou.	N: Ok. So amper soos hy beskerm hulle?	gesin? Ok. So waste goed van 'n man dink jy nog. Ek kan sê daai is 'n man.	Ok. N: En wat dink jy wat, as 'n mens nou daar buite is, wat maak van jou 'n man?
D: Hulle dans	D: As iemand vir jou hartseer maak, dan slaan jy hom	N: Ok.	D: Ja Juffrou.	D: 'n Man is bang vir niks Juffrou.	D: Rugby juffrou.
N: Dans. Wat doen hulle nog?	N: As iemand jou hartseer maak? Hoe maak hulle jou hartseer?	D: As hulle onbeskof is juffrou.	N: En dink jy daar is goed wat net mans kan doen. (stilte)	N: 'n Man is bang vir niks. Hoekom sê jy so?	N: Hoekom sê jy rugby?
D: Speel		N: Maar wat maak van jou anders as 'n meisie?	N: Hmmm?	D: Omdat hy is daar om sterk te wees.	D: En sokker.
N: Speel. En wat nog?	D: Hulle burn vir jou. Hulle sê vir jou iets lelik. Dan raak jy kwaad. Dan wil jy die ene slat.	D: Jy moet nie eintlik meisies bevoel en betas nie juffrou.	D: Ja juffrou.	N: Dit is wat juffrou sien. Die karaktertrenk e. Hy's bang vir niks. Hy's sterk. Wat nog?	D: Rugby. As hulle jou omhardloop. Jy mag nie so gou omval nie. Jy moet sterk en styf staan juffrou. Jy moet 'n man tekkel.
N: Ok. Is dit al?		N: Jy moet respek hê vir hulle, nê. Ok. Wat maak 'n man? Hoe kan ek nou eendag sê ek kan nou sien daardie	N: Wat?	N: Hy sal nooit opgee nie juffrou.	N: Jy moet sterk wees D: Ja juffrou.
D: en aan- aan			D: mans kan guns skiet. Mans is sterkter as vrouens. Want vroumense het nie krag nie juffrou.	N: Dit is wat juffrou sien. Die karaktertrenk e. Hy's bang vir niks. Hy's sterk. Wat nog?	N: So sal jy sê om 'n man te wees moet jy sterk wees?
N: Ok. So daais nou speletjies. So jy sê nou seuns dans en speel.	N: Iets lelik omtrent wat?		N: Ok. So waar die sterkte inkom.	N: Hy gee nie moed op nie.	D: Ja N: Ok. Juffrou het jou mos gevra van die rolle in jou
D: En hulle loop rond.	D: Sê nou hulle sê vir jou dik neus, dik		D: Ja		
N: Rondloop en wat nog?					
D: Dan sit					

ons by iemand se huis N: Sit by mense se huis D: Ja N: En is daar pligte wat hulle moet doen. D: Nee N: Niks nie? D: Uhhuh N: So seuns se rol is hulle speel, hulle loop rond. Hulle sit by iemand se huis en hulle. Wat was die ander een wat jy nou gesê het? D: Hulle dans. Ja N: Ok. En	lippe, groot oë, groot hare, en sulke tipe goete juffrou. N: So hulle dryf die spot met hoe jy lyk. Dan raak jy kwaad en jy raak hartseer en dan as jy sterk is kan jy baklei? D: Ja Juffrou. N: En 'n man. Wat is die rolle van 'n man? D: Ek weet nie juffrou. N: Wat dink jy? Wat doen 'n man? D: Hulle werk. Hulle	is 'n man. D: Hy gee om vir sy kinders juffrou. Vir sy vrou. (stilte) N: So is daar sekere rolle? Ons het mos gepraat wat is elkeen se rol in jou gesin. Is daar sekere rolle wat jy dink seuns het in die gemeenska p? D: In die omgewing juffrou? N: Mmm. In die gemeenska p. In die omgewing. D: Ek weet nie juffrou.	juffrou. N: En dink jy hoe moet 'n man optree? D: Ek weet nie juffrou. N: Hoe moet hy wees? D: Hy moet ordentlik wees. N: Ordentlik? D: Ja juffrou.	(stilte) N: Ok. Dis genoeg. Ok nous al jy sê daars sekere goed omdat jy 'n man is kan jy dit doen. Wat? D: Jy kan mense help. N: hmm? D: Jy kan goeters bou. Huisse, karre, so juffrou.	familie. Nous al jy vir juffrou sê daars sekere rolle wat seuns moet hê. (stilte) N: In jou gemeenskap, moet die seuns sekere goed doen? D: Nee juffrou N: Nie eintlik nie. En mans. Wat is mans se rol? D: Hulle speel rugby juffrou N: Is daai hulle rol? En wat nog? D: Sokker. Krieket juffrou N: So daais die aktiwiteite wat hulle doen. Maar het hulle 'n rol in die gemeenskap? Soos 'n verantwoordelike id wat hulle moet doen? D: Nee juffrou
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mans. Wat is mans se rolle? D: Hulle speel rugby. En hulle speel partykeer sokker en tennis en krieket. N: Ok daais nou al die sport. So hulle speel sport. Watse rolle het hulle nog? D: En hulle dans. N: mans dans ook. En wat doen mans nog? D: Ek weet nie juffrou N: Wat is dinge wat jy dink mans moet doen? D: Hulle	sorg vir hulle kinders. Ek weet nie verder nie juffrou. Ek kan nie nog dink nie. N: Dis ok. Nou wil juffrou hê jy moet dink. In Garden Village is daar sekere goed wat mans doen. In jou gemeenska p. As jy nou dink aan al die mans wat daar bly. Is daar sekere rolle wat daai mans moet doen? D: Hulle moet luister vir hulle ma.	N: Dis ok om te sê ek weet nie. En mans, het hulle 'n rol te speel in die gemeenska p? D: Party het juffrou. Maar party weet nie hoe nie juffrou. N: Wat weet hulle nie hoe om te doen nie? D: Om te steel. Weet hulle nie. Maar party weet nou hoe juffrou om dit te doen. N: Sê gou weer vir juffrou. Om te D: Steel			N: Niks waaraan jy kan dink nie. N: Ok nou wil juffrou vir jou vra. Hoe dink jy moet 'n man optree? D: 'n Man moenie dat iemand hom onder druk maak nie juffrou N: Hoe onder druk maak nie? D: Iemand oor hom gaan nie juffrou N: Soos oor hom loop en hom afdruk nie? D: Ja juffrou N: En wat moet hy doen? D: Sterk wees. N: En as hy nou sterk is, wat moet hy doen? D: Hy mag nie 'n man seermaak nie juffrou N: So 'n man
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moet werk.	Hulle moet werk soek vir hulle. Hulle moet die mense help wat nie kos het nie. En	N: So party mans, wanneer gaan hulle steel? D: Saans juffrou. Dan's dit mos as die ligte ook af is juffrou. Toe het hulle ook gesteel. Baie plekke juffrou het hulle gesteel.			moet sterk wees, maar hy moet nie mense seermaak nie. D: Hy moet 'n waarskuwing gee. N: Hmm? D: Waarskuwing N: 'n Waarskuwing gee. Ok.
N: Hulle moet werk. Wat nog? D: Dis al juffrou N: So dans, rugby en werk. Is daai hulle rolle? Niks wat jy nog aan kan dink nie? D: Huhuh N: Ok. En wat dink jy wat moet seuns doen?	N: So hulle meot omgee vir ander mense en sorg vir ander mense. Ok. D: Ja N: Nou wil juffrou hê jy moet dink aan hoe moet 'n man optree. Wat moet hy doen? D: Wat moet hy doen? N: Sy	N: Maar hoekom dink jy steel hulle? D: Om geld te maak by ander mense. Dan verkoop hulle die goed aan die mense juffrou. N: Dan wat doen hulle			

N: Ok. Nou wil juffrou hê jy moet dink, hoe moet 'n man wees? Hoe moet 'n man optree?	gedrag. Hoe moet dit wees? D: Ek weet nie juffrou. Ek weet nie. N: Kom juffrou verduidelik vir jou. By die skool dan verwag mnr Arendse hier moet 'n sekere gedrag wees. Hy verwag jy moet luister vir juffrou . Jy moet gehoorsaam wees. Jy moet jou huiswerk doen. Jy moet stil wees in die gange. Daai is die	met daardie geld? D: dan koop hulle drugs juffrou. Of hulle koop kos. N: So daar's mense wat steel om geld te kry. En party gebruik daardie geld om drugs te koop of wyn te koop en party gebruik dit om kos vir hulle familie te koop? N: En die mans wat nou nie steel nie? Wat doen hulle?			
D: Hy moet mooi wees. Hy moet skoon wees.					
N: En wat moet hy doen?					
D: Hy moet werk.					
N: Hmmm					
D: Ja					
N: En wat nog? Wat moet hy nog doen?					
Hoekom moet hy werk?					
D: Hy't sy kinders om te sorg voor.					
N: Hy moet sorg vir sy					

<p>kinders. Ok.</p> <p>Watse goed moet hy doen by die huis en by die werk?</p> <p>D: As my ma. As ons moet nou kerk toe.</p> <p>Dan moet hy mos nou weet. Dan moet hy aan die kos mos kyk.</p> <p>N: So hy moet help.</p> <p>D: Ja. Dis al juffrou</p>	<p>gedrag hier. Daar moet discipline wees. Maar nou. Daar in die buitewerêld, daar waar jy bly. Hoe moet mans optree?</p> <p>Wat moet hulle gedrag wees?</p> <p>D: Dissipline soos juffrou nou gesê het. So moet hulle wees.</p> <p>N: Ja maar dis in die skool. Ek prat nou spesifiek van mans. Ouer mans. Groot mans.</p> <p>D: Hulle</p>	<p>D: Hulle werk juffrou vir hulle geld.</p> <p>N: So hulle gaan werk en dan kry hulle geld en dan gebruik hulle daardie geld ook vir hulle gesin. Gebruik hulle dit nog vir ander goed ook?</p> <p>D: Ja juffrou. As die babatjie siek is, dan koop hulle medisyne by die chemist van die geld.</p> <p>N: So hulle moet sorg, nê. En sorg dat almal gesond ook</p>			
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	<p>moet vir hulle vrouens help. Vir hulle kinders sorg. Kos koop en al daai tipe goete juffrou.</p> <p>N: So ek kry by jou aanmekaar dat jy sê mans moet sorg vir hulle kinders en hulle gesinne. So dit is iets wat hulle moet doen.</p> <p>D: Ja</p>	<p>is.</p> <p>N: Nou is ons amper klaar.</p> <p>Juffrou wil gou by jou weet hoe dink jy hoe moet 'n man optree.</p> <p>D: Hy moet omgee juffrou vir sy mense juffrou en vir sy kinders juffrou. Hy moenie onbeskof is nie juffrou. En hy moenie slegte dinge doen nie juffrou wat die ander doen nie juffrou.</p> <p>N: Watse slegte dinge?</p> <p>D: Bevoel</p>			
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		<p>juffrou. En meisies seermaak.</p> <p>N: En wat moet hy doen?</p> <p>D: Werk ook juffrou. Vir sy gesin juffrou.</p> <p>N: So dis vir jou belangrik dat 'n man omgee en dat hy werk en dat jy kan sorg vir sy gesin.</p> <p>D: Ja juffrou</p>			
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APPENDIX G

Examples of open-ended coding: Collages

Opskrif	Woorde	Prente	Byskrifte	Beskrywing	Temas
Ray my ster	Happy family Werk Gaza	<p>‘n prent in pen geteken van ‘n seun sonder hande en voete.</p> <p>Strokiesprent gesin wat hande vashou en glimlag met ‘n hond</p> <p>‘n Uitveer wat besig is om die prentjie uit te vee.</p> <p>‘n man wat staan en rook.</p> <p>Twee mans en twee vroue wat hand om die lyf staan en poseer vir foto.</p>		<p>D: Jamian. Vertel vir ons van jou poster.</p> <p>J: My poster juffrou. Hierso juffrou is ‘n gangster juffrou. Dis hoekom het ek geskryf gaza juffrou. En hierso is die gesin juffrou. Die family juffrou. En dies ‘n man wat sigarette rook juffrou. Hy’s dronk juffrou. Dik gerook juffrou.</p> <p>N: Wat het dit met mans te doen?</p> <p>J: Met mans te doen. Mans moet nie. Gereeld moet</p>	<p>Tattoos Signs and Gangs</p> <p>Substance abuse and violence</p> <p>Caretaker and Provider</p> <p>Values</p> <p>Activities</p> <p>Strength and Protection</p>

		<p>Atlete wat hardloop</p> <p>Twee mans wat uit die see loop met branderplanke.</p> <p>Vier sokkerspelers.</p> <p>Twee mans by ‘n perd. Een van die mans is die joggie.</p> <p>Mans wat besig is om ‘n pap wiel van ‘n motor om te ruil.</p> <p>Drie prente van ‘n man en ‘n vrou wat glimlaggend na die kamera kyk.</p> <p>‘n Man wat ‘n bok streel.</p>		<p>mans nie rook nie juffrou. Hulle kan net op ‘n tyd kan hulle rook juffrou.</p> <p>N: Watter tye kan hulle rook?</p> <p>J: Soos as hulle klaar is juffrou. Dan kan hulle rook juffrou.</p> <p>N: Klaar is waarmee?</p> <p>J: Klaar is met hulle werk juffrou. Wat hulle doen. Kan hulle rook. Hiers die gesin juffrou. Die mans gee om vir hulle gesin en hulle vrouens juffrou.</p> <p>J: En hierso is dit dat mans kan goeie kunstenaars word eendag juffrou</p>	
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		<p>‘n man</p> <p>Twee vroue en ‘n man. Die vrou in die middel omhels die ander vrou en die man.</p> <p>Springbok rugbyspelers</p>		<p>N: Hmmm?</p> <p>J: Eendag goeie kunstenaars word juffrou.</p> <p>J: En hierso juffrou. Mans kan goed swem en fiks wees in hulle bene juffrou.</p> <p>J: hierso is mans juffrou. Hulle kan goed sport doen. Om sokker te speel juffrou.</p> <p>J: Mans gee om vir hul diere juffrou. Mans kan ook werk juffrou. Karre regmaak juffrou</p> <p>J: Dis ook soos die juffrou. Mans gee om vir hul vir hul vrouens juffrou. En vir hul kinders juffrou. Mans</p>	
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				<p>gee om vir hul diere juffrou.</p> <p>N: En daai?</p> <p>J: Mans gee nie om vir hul vrouens nie juffrou.</p> <p>N: So ek hoor sommige mans gee om vir hul vrouens en dan is daar mans wat ook nie omgee nie.</p> <p>J: Ook nie omgee nie juffrou. Mans hou vrouens weg van gevaar juffrou. En mans wat vrouens help om kos te maak juffrou en na die kinders te kyk juffrou. En hierso is die gesin juffrou. Ma en pa en die kind juffrou. En hier is die</p>	
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				<p>springbokke juffrou. Hulle kan goed rugby speel juffrou.</p> <p>N: Ok. Jy het hierdie ook nog nie gesê nie.</p> <p>D: Dis Ray misterio juffrou. Hy's goed in sy bene en sy arms juffrou.</p> <p>N: So hy's ook 'n wrestler.</p> <p>D: Ja juffrou.</p> <p>N: Ok. Dankie. Wil julle vir hom iets vra?</p> <p>D: Ek wil net iets sê. Hy het die by my afgekyk.</p> <p>N: Nou vertel jy vir ons waarvoor staan dit.</p> <p>D: Dis nou klaar juffrou.</p>	
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				<p>N: Maar ek wil hoor waarvoor staan dit. Verduidelik.</p> <p>N: Staan dit vir iets spesifiek.</p> <p>D: Dis Ray Mysterio</p> <p>D: Ook 'n tattoo.</p> <p>N: Watse tattoo het hy?</p> <p>D: Juffrou hierop staan sy kind se naam.</p> <p>N: Ok. So hy het sy kind se naamop sy lyf uitgetatto. Ok nou wat beteken dit as 'n man sy kind se naam uit tattoo.</p> <p>D: Hy's lief vir sy kind.</p> <p>D: Hy's lief vir sy kinders juffrou. En hy gee om .</p>	
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				<p>(onduidelik)</p> <p>N: Hoe maak hy sy oë?</p> <p>D: Amper soos alien oë</p> <p>D: Evile oë. Hy kyk jou so</p> <p>(lag onduidelik)</p> <p>N: Kontaklense</p> <p>D: Dit kom so, So kom daai oë. So</p> <p>(praat almal gelyk)</p> <p>N: Is dit nou almal mense wat in die wrestling is</p> <p>D: Ja</p> <p>man nie om nie?</p> <p>J: Om sy vrou nie te help nie</p> <p>N: Waarmee help hy nie</p> <p>J: Om kos te maak en na die</p>	
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				<p>kinders te kyk juffrou. En na N: Ek wil gou hier vir Jamian vra. Jy sê sommige mans gee nie om vir hulle vroue nie. Nou hoe wee tons dat mans nie omgee vir hulle vroue nie.</p> <p>J: hy help nie sy vrou nie juffrou Hy gee nie om vir sy kinders nie juffrou .</p> <p>N: Dan wat. Hoe is hy?</p> <p>J: Hy's onbeskof juffrou. Hy skelsy kinders juffrou en sy vrou juffrou. Hy slaan ook sy vrou juffrou.</p> <p>N: En wat wee snog hoe gee 'n die kinders te kyk juffrou.</p>	
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				<p>N: moet die vrou dan alles self doen?</p> <p>J: nee juffrou</p> <p>(onduidelik)</p>	
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APPENDIX H**Examples of open-ended coding: Photographs**

Photo	Content of Photo	Participant's description of photo	Themes
1	A woman lying in bed. On her left side she is feeding a baby. Her breast is exposed. On her right side she is holding a lit cigarette. They are partially covered with a duvet.	Dis my ma wat ons baba melk gee.	Caretaker and Provider
2	Two boys are play-fighting in a bedroom. The boy facing the camera is smiling. There are two beds situated very close to each other in the room. There is also a dresser and closet in the room.	Ek en my nefie speel	Activities
3	A woman and a girl is sitting in a doubled bed, under a duvet. A boy is leaning over them with his back turned to the camera. The girl is holding a white object in her hand and her head is covered by a hoody. The woman's face is visible behind the boy.	My suster, my ma, ek en ons baba	Values
4	A man walking in the street turning his head away from the camera. He is carrying three bottles of beer in his hands.	Daai man het gaan wyn koop onder in die pad.	Substance abuse and violence
5	A man sitting against a fence on the pavement at the entrance to a property. A woman with a baby covered in a pink blanket is standing at the same entrance. A boy is walking from the home towards the entrance. There is washing on the laundry line in front of the house. The home is partially brick built with informal wooden structures added on. The front wooden structure	Dit is ons huis. Die man was dronk to sit hy by ons hekkie	Substance abuse and violence

	roof is covered with black plastic bags.		
6	A man bending down, waving a cardboard, trying to get a fire started. A boy is standing behind him.	Ons gaan braai	Activities
7	A woman is sitting on a chair in a livingroom, holding a baby. She is lifting the baby up, showing her to the camera. The baby is wrapped in a blanket. Behind the chair is a cupboard decorated with assorted ornaments.	My ma en ons baba	Caretaker and Provider Values
8	A boy wearing a hat standing in a livingroom/	Dis ek.	